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MEMOIRS

OF A

HUNGARIAN LADY.

BY

THERESA PULSZKY.

WITH

A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY FRANCIS PULSZKY.

21093

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARCHIONESS OF LANSDOWNE.

When I first had the happiness of meeting you in the year 1841, my girlish enthusiasm for England attracted your attention. You encouraged me to tell you all that filled my heart and occupied my mind, and kindly listened to the attempted development of my young ideas. The sanguinary events of the last year have driven me and my family from our country; but "the good land that is beyond the sea," the mighty Queen of Ocean, has granted us a hospitable asylum, to which your generous kindness welcomed me.

You have again encouraged me to repeat my tale, no longer of the bright pictures then radiantly

before my mind; but of the solemn tragedy, which has horrified Eastern Europe.

Though I never mixed in politics, I have considered it my duty, to give a simple account of what I have seen and heard. Perhaps this unadorned narrative may help to rectify some erroneous notions spread abroad respecting Hungary.

I, of course, cannot assume to give in the following pages any new or striking view of the events which have passed before the eyes of Europe; but your Ladyship will certainly recognize the accents of truth, even when awkwardly expressed in a language more familiar to my admiration than to my pen.

In the faith of this conviction, I adventurously present these volumes to your gracious notice, and beg, with the most warm affection and sincere gratitude, to be allowed to subscribe myself,

Your Ladyship's

Devoted

THERESA PULSZKY.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

First Period.

HISTORY OF HUNGARY UNDER THE HOUSE OF ÁRPÁD.

Of all the nations who, leaving the heaths of Asia, migrated to Europe, and who on the ruins of the old world constructed new states on new foundations, prospering in the breath of European air and making its civilization their own, the Hungarians are the last. The most ancient history of the Hungarian people is buried in darkness, and but one thing is certain, namely, that it belongs to the same family of nomade tribe, which sent forth the Huns, Avares, Kumans, the Uzi, and Polowzi. The original country of these tribes is old Turan, that immense tract of land extending from the lake of Aral, from the Oxus and Jaxartes to the frontier of China and the desert of Gobi. This tract of land is still the home of several vagrant tribes in

the states of Khiva, Bokhara, Kashgar, Kokan, and Yarkend.

The remark has often been made that, in the history of mankind, the nomade nations, of all others, are most prone, when once thoroughly impregnated with some grand idea to exchange their clansmanhip for a centralized monarchical or theocratical form of government, and to establish themselves as conquerors; but that in the course of this transition, they almost always lose every vestige of liberty. Their independent life as herdsmen, their half solitude, grouped as they are in families, under the indulgent authority of the heads of their clans, and the paternal power of government of the latter, is the fruitful source of absolute power, whenever a foreign invasion compels them to unite, or their roving disposition induces them to go in quest of other homes. But as their enthusiasm cools down, which made them formidable to their neighbours, the unbridled power which sways them, fashions them into an agricultural people who form a kind of national aristocracy among the original inhabitants of the conquered country, whom they keep in a state of subjection, more or less oppressive, as the case may be.

Such is the history of the Jews in Palestine, of the Arabs in Northern Africa, in Babylonia and Persia, of the Turanian tribes in India, of the Turks in the Byzantine empire, and of the Mongols in China. Some nomade nations perished in the crisis of the transition from conquest to agriculture; domestic dissensions, or the sword of a league of foreign foes, dissolved and again sent them adrift as migratory hordes, whose fates are not historical, and who at least are lost in

the course of years, like those terrific meteors, which illumine the horizon in one moment and vanish in the next. The bonds once broken which united the various tribes, they cease to be a nation; they return to their former state of families and clans and amalgamate with the neighbouring nations; or with the Aborigines who for a time were under their dominion. The last named process occurs especially in cases in which the dissolution does not follow on the heels of the conquest, as in the case of the Vandals in Africa, of the Goths in Spain, of the Lombards in Italy, whom their defeat deprived of their national individuality, and who were absorbed by the original elements of the country. On the other hand, the Huns and the Avars in Eastern Europe, the Turkomans in Kharesm, the Mongols of the Golden Horde in Asia and Russia (Kiptshak), were completely and hopelessly dissolved.

Among these rudiments of nations, which were taking shape from the commencement of the decline of the Roman Empire down to the fifteenth century, the Hungarians play a conspicuous and interesting part, from the fact that they alone, of all migratory tribes, succeeded in weathering the rocks which threatened those most, who drifted most headlong in the current of conquest. They had sufficient strength to resist the enemies, whom they stirred up by the conquest of their new country, and by those frequent predatory expeditions which are of common occurrence in the first historical epoch of conquering nations, without finding themselves compelled to sacrifice their domestic liberty to the arbitrary sway of one man.

The history of Hungary, from the ninth to the twelfth century, is consequently full of interest for the

political philosopher, In the first years of that period, we see the Hungarian people worried by foreign enemies, and hurried on by those migratory instincts which are peculiar to nomade populations, leave their homes in Central Asia, and proceed to the Caspian, and from thence to the Black Sea; from thence they direct their steps to the Danube; for a legend is rife among them of a land of promise, belonging to the inheritance of Attila, Prince of he Huns and kinsman to their tribe. Obedient to the advice of the Chazars their neighbours, we behold the chiefs of the clans assemble for the election of a prince; but jealous of his influence, they limit the extent of his power. They make a State, and that State stands alone in history; for it originated in a "social contract," the provisions of which were not only enacted but also observed. Thus united into a nation, the Hungarian tribes proceed, towards the end of the ninth century, to conquer their present country. The conquest is an easy one. Fortune favours them: they become over-bearing, and begin to devastate the neighbouring countries. They make inroads upon Southern Germany, Upper Italy, and the Northern provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Some detached parties visit even the South of France, and advance to the walls of Constantinople, until the hero, Botond—thus runs the Hungarian legend—breaks the gates of that city with his club.

The people of Western Europe prayed at that time in this litany: "Oh, Lord! preserve us from the Hungarians!" and dreadful rumours were current of the Hungarian barbarians, who, it was said, delighted in eating the hearts of their enemies. Neither the Byzantine nor the German Emperors could resist their inroads;

all they could do was to conciliate them with gifts. The two Emperors did, indeed, all they could to break the power of their new and formidable enemies; and the manner in which they severally attempted that object, is characteristic of the distinguishing features of the East and West of Europe. Henry of Germany (Henricus Auceps) bribed the Hungarians into an armistice of nine years, and during this time he built fortified cities and strongholds, and recruited his armies, so that when the Hungarian hordes advanced, they suffered several grievous defeats. The unwarlike Prince of Byzantium, on the other hand, purchases peace under the same conditions as Henricus Auceps; and, as a pledge of the good faith of the Hungarians, he takes several of their chiefs as hostages, and conducts them to Constantinople. Here they are converted to the Christian religion, and when they finally return to their country, the Byzantine Emperor sees that they are accompanied by the Bishop Hierotheos, for he is well aware that the Christian religion will change the barbarous manners of the Hungarians.

Christianity thus transplanted into Hungary, had at first but an indifferent success. It was only after two generations, that the real conversion of the Hungarian people took place. They adopted the forms, not of the petrified Grecian Church, but of the Romans. Still the reminiscences of the first Byzantine attempt at their conversion remained in the Hungarian language. To this day, the Grecian doctrine is called the *ó hit*), and the Greek Christians are proud of the *old faith*.*

* The Russians, too, call themselves "Starowerzi," *i.e.* old believers, for they protest that the form of their creed is the

While in this manner the predatory excursions become less frequent and formidable during the tenth century, we see the princes of Hungary intent upon strengthening their small modicum of central power, and defending it against the encroachment of the chiefs of the clans. They invited foreign colonists and cavaliers to settle in the country, and granted them the rights and immunities enjoyed by the native chiefs. The people meanwhile begin to settle, and to build villages and cities: indeed, the vast numbers of prisoners from all parts of Europe, brought from their predatory excursions, the aggregate number of whom exceeded that of their conquerors, familiarized the latter, by degrees, with the manners and customs of the West and the morals of the Christian population of Europe. Prince Geiza, a grandson of Arpád, the conqueror of Hungary, was favourably inclined to the Christian creed. His wife, Sarolta, a daughter of Gyula (who became a convert to Christianity at Constantinople); was a follower of the new creed. She converts her husband, founds monasteries, and invites Christian priests to settle in Hungary. But in spite of all this, Geiza still continues to sacrifice to and adore the ancient divinities of his nation. The sun and the elements, and the reproaches of his wife, are met alike with the quiet assertion: "I can afford to serve the old gods and the new ones too!"

Geiza's son, Stephen, justly denominated "the Saint," is the greatest man of his time. He lived and acted for a twofold purpose. He endeavoured to introduce Christianity into his kingdom, and to establish the royal

original form of Christianity, and that the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Churches are cursed innovations.

power on a firm basis, without curtailing the liberties of the people: for with him, Christianity was the twin sister of freedom. He cannot possibly effect either purpose unless his reforming plans are protected by the sacred power of religion. In furtherance of his object, he invited the chiefs of his people to his Court; for three years he was a zealous preacher and a living example of the truth of the gospel. He was the Apostle of his people. It is true that when words were of no avail, he seized the sword and convinced his refractory subjects by force of arms. But, to the honour of the Hungarians, we find, that the example and the doctrines of their prince sufficed, in almost every instance, to open their minds to Christianity. Having thus accomplished one of the great objects of his life, he endeavoured firmly to establish his religion on the ground which he had obtained for it; for he was aware that paganism would not surrender without a struggle, and he was alarmed lest the rapid conversion of his people might, by a natural reaction, cause them to return to the creed of their fathers. He knew the national character of the Hungarians, and he knew them to be strangers to theological speculations and incapable of the errors of fanaticism. Stephen resolved, consequently, to establish and fortify his position, by the authority of the Pope, the fountain of all spiritual power. He sent Archbishop Astricus to Rome, to inform the Pope Sylvester (Gerbert) of the voluntary conversion of the Hungarian people, and of their homage to the Pope as their spiritual Prince. In return for this important service, Stephen solicited Sylvester's blessing on the crown, and his sanction of the ecclesiastical arrangement in the country, and the confirmation of the bishops whom

Stephen had appointed. The Pope was agreeably surprised by this good news. He sent Stephen a crown of gold and the Cross of the Patriarch, as the symbols of royal power and of the privilege of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction (potestas circa sacra). Besides this, he sent him the pallium for two archbishops; for, faithful to the system of papacy, Sylvester was unwilling to let any one country remain under a single ecclesiastical chief. To paralyze the power of a primate and to frustrate every attempt to found a national Church in secession from Rome, *two* archiepiscopal sees were instituted in every country. The circumstance that Sylvester had sent the crown to Stephen, furnished the Popes at a later period with a pretence for claiming the right to dispose of the Hungarian Crown; while, on the other hand, the Patriarch's Cross and the title of "Apostolic King," gave the Hungarian princes a pretence to increase the number of bishoprics, to divide the ecclesiastical property between them, and to control the revenues and administration of Church lands, all of which they enforced and maintained permanently. Indeed, these rights were exercised up to and in the present century.

Stephen was solemnly crowned in the year 1000. He convoked several Diets and revised the Constitution, which had never been altered since the days of Arpád. The influence of the Hungarian chiefs was neutralized by the bishops and foreign courtiers; tithes were introduced; the rights of the nobility fixed, and the foundation laid for a system of defence and taxation. These innovations were not carried without serious opposition and even resistance. One of the native chiefs, Kupa, the Prince of Somogy, placed himself at the head of men who were dissatisfied

with the new imposition of tithes and the curtailment of the rights of the native chiefs, who had hitherto considered their king in the light of '*primus inter pares*.' They made an impetuous and armed demand for the restoration of their ancestral creed. They protested against the king's innovations, which tended to undermine the principles of their political and social institutions. Upon this, Stephen advanced at the head of an army, composed of the foreign cavaliers and the Christians among the Hungarians. The insurgents were defeated. A few years later, king Stephen suppressed with equal energy and good fortune a Pagan insurrection which broke out in Transylvania. Thus he continued as the apostle and champion of constitutional liberty, to administer justice and to civilize his country. At once king and priest, like Melchisedek, he was the 'beau ideal' of a mediæval sovereign.

King Stephen's private life was less fortunate than his public career. His only son died at an early age (1031) and his death overwhelmed King Stephen with unceasing cares about the choice of a successor. His nearest kindred were by no means now after his own heart. Young Vazul, the king's cousin, was a good-natured rake, and Andreas and Bela (the sons of his second cousin, Ladislas) were suspected of being favourable to paganism. Peter, the son of Stephen's sister, Gisela (by Otto Urseoli, the Doge of Venice) was well versed in the sciences of the West, but he had not escaped the influence of Western vices, and he despised the Hungarians. For a long time Stephen was in doubt where it would be expedient to bestow his crown. At length he decided in favour of Vazul,

for Vazul was, after all, his nearest relative, and heir apparent of the Hungarian throne! He was at that time at Nyitra, whither the king had banished him, as a punishment for some juvenile vagaries. Before Stephen's order for his release and triumphant return, could be conveyed to Nyitra, Gisela, Peter's mother, despatched some bravoes who put out his eyes and poured molten lead into his ears, so as to make him unfit for all purposes of government. Vazul's misfortune, and Gisela's crime, excited the pity and disgust of the people in an extraordinary degree. A conspiracy was formed against the king. The conspirators pretended that Stephen was weak and broken by disease; that he wanted energy to prevent crimes, and that he lacked the moral courage which ought to have impelled him to visit his sister's crime on her guilty head. One of the king's guard was consequently bribed to murder him. When the assassin approached the bed on which the king slept, his heart failed him and his sword fell from his hand. Stephen awoke, and turning to the dismayed assassin, he asked him: "Why would you kill me?" The man knelt down, and wept; confessed his crime, and implored the king's pardon. Stephen, who had not avenged the mutilation of Vazul, forbore to inquire for and prosecute the conspirators; but his nephews, Andreas and Bela, nevertheless thought proper to consult their safety by flying from the country, and no one of the king's family was left on Hungarian ground, except Peter, (whose predilection for the German nation, caused him to be nick-named the German) and Samuel, husband to the king's second sister; Samuel was a ruder man, and more of a

Pagan than of a Christian. Stephen could not therefore think of raising him to the throne. He resigned his crown to Peter, and died (A.D. 1036) with the firm conviction of the stability of his work, because it was holy; his human reason, indeed, had sufficient cause to doubt the continuance of institutions, which were still in their infancy, and which he left in weak and reluctant hands. But St. Stephen's faith—(he is not only canonized by the Church, but to the present day every Hungarian considers and reveres him as the founder of the State)—St. Stephen's faith, we say, was borne out by future facts. His institutions conquered not only the difficulties which the dying king's boding mind foresaw, but they stood firm and unshaken in storms which were fatal to other nations and countries. We are therefore justified by the experience of centuries, in our hopes that the constitution of St. Stephen will outlive the botch-work of the German theorists, who in 1848 attempted to overthrow the institutions of the great king, by means of a paper charter, and who fretted themselves into madness, because the Hungarians preferred the protecting shade of the oak, which had weathered so many storms, to the sickly graces of a faded March violet.

Peter, the successor of Stephen the Saint, surrounded himself with foreigners. He was not bred among the people which he was called upon to govern; he longed for the splendour and gaieties of the West, and he treated the Hungarians with scorn and contempt. At length the people rose against him. They rallied around the brother-in-law of the deceased king and expelled Peter (A.D. 1041). Samuel was wholly

different from Peter. His faults were quite as great, but they ran in another direction. He hated the German colonists; he detested the foreign bishops, but he hated and detested the Hungarian chiefs quite as much. He was the Prince and the flatterer of the lower classes. He was a courtier to their passions. Peter, meanwhile, had made his escape to the court of the Emperor Henry III., a potentate who was eager to extend his power, and who greedily seized upon the opportunity of subjugating Hungary and reducing her to a province of his empire. He promised to succour King Peter, who in return engaged to take the country of Hungary as a fief from the Emperor; to do homage to that potentate, and to render to him certain domains on the other bank of the Danube. Shortly afterwards Peter made his appearance in Hungary, at the head of a numerous army of German auxiliaries. Samuel, who was not backed by the Hungarian chiefs, was defeated in the very first encounter. He was captured and assassinated (1043). Peter celebrated his restoration to the throne with great pomp; but when the Hungarians learnt that he had not scrupled to sacrifice the honours of their nation to the possession of the crown, they sent ambassadors to Red Russia, where Andreas lived in exile, inviting him to return and to occupy the throne. Andreas was weak and irresolute: he would not accept the invitation, until his brother Bela (who had meanwhile gained a princess and a dukedom of Pomerania by a duel with a Pagan knight) assured him that he was prepared to join the expedition. Shortly afterwards the two princes appeared with a few followers on the borders of

Hungary. As the news of their approach spread, the people rose against Peter. But this revolution, too, overshot its mark; not Peter's favourites only were expelled and murdered, but the same fate was awarded to the bishops and the tithe proctors. The insurgents burnt the churches and broke the church-bells, and the people imitating the example of their leaders, Vatha, Bua, and Bukna, returned to paganism. Andreas and Bela forbore to interfere with them, because they were of opinion that the whole and undivided power of the Hungarian nation was requisite to resist the tempest which was drawing near. There could be no doubt but that the German Emperor intended either to rescue or to avenge his *protégé*. He came too late to the rescue, for Peter, defeated and blinded, died 1046; but the Emperor's revenge was the more terrible, since he threatened his Hungarian courtiers, not only in the quality of an offended lord paramount, but also as the restorer of Christianity. But the condition of his own empire prevented him up to 1059, from following his words up by deeds. Andreas meanwhile endeavoured to heal the wounds which his party had inflicted on the Christian church. He was crowned in the year 1047. He confirmed the statutes against paganism; he appointed bishops and restored order in the interior of the kingdom, while Bela provided for the defence of the country. Twice, in two succeeding years, did the Emperor Henry III. attempt to invade Hungary. On each event the Hungarians retreated before the enemy, and drew them into the hearts of their forests and plains. They cut off their supplies, sunk their ships, harassed them in unceasing skirmishes,

and finally drove them over the frontier. In 1053 Henry was compelled to resign his claims upon Hungary, without battles for that country was then, as it is now, an open grave for every invading foe; and though often pressed, and even conquered, by foreigners, it always regained its independence.

But in the present instance the Hungarian independence was scarcely guaranteed, when a civil war broke out in the country itself. At the commencement of his government, Andreas had promised the succession to the throne to his brother Bela, besides ceding to him one third of the country as a dukedom, when he found that he owed his crown to his brother's heroic devotion. But in the meanwhile a son and heir was born to Andreas, and the Emperor Henry sent to say that he betrothed his daughter to the infant. Paternal affection caused Andreas to forget the promise which he had given his brother. In 1058 he took the boy Solomon, and had him crowned as King. Bela felt deeply hurt, but he conquered his feelings. The King's courtiers, on the other hand, filled the mind of Andreas with suspicion against the Duke, his brother, by informing the King that Bela had left the cathedral in great rage, when at the coronation of Solomon the choristers sung the verse: "Be thou Lord of thy brethren." They insinuated, moreover, that the Duke was seducing the affections and engaging the support of a powerful party in the country. The King resolved to try his brother's loyalty, and invited him to come to the Castle of Várkony. When Bela arrived he found Andreas seated on a throne. At his feet lay the crown and the sword, the symbols of regal and ducal dignity. He received Bela with great kindness, and told him

that the country was not likely to recover from its present unsettled state, unless some definite arrangement were made regarding the question of the succession. He admitted that his promise compelled him to leave his crown to Bela, but he reminded him of the importance of the German Emperor's friendship, which alone could avail to guarantee peace and independence to the country, and which was bound up with the advent to the throne of Solomon, the Emperor's future son-in-law. In conclusion, he declared that the fate of Hungary lay in Bela's hands, to whom he offered the choice between the crown and sword, viz.: between a kingdom and a dukedom, adding that his brother's choice ought to be definitive and binding for the future. While the King was speaking, the Count Nicolas went past Bela and whispered to him: "Don't take the crown if you value your life!" He smiled, and stretching forth his hands he seized the sword. For he remarked the lowering looks of Vid and Erney, the King's knights, who stood by the throne, armed, and with their swords bared. The Duke was aware that the crown is always a prize to him who holds the sword. Andreas, who had commanded his followers to rush forward and assassinate his brother, if the latter should happen to choose the crown, left his throne, and embracing Bela he praised him for this voluntary and generous surrender of his just claims. But Bela turned and left the room and the castle.

He knew that his life was in danger. He and his family fled to Poland. His flight terrified Andreas, who foresaw his brother's return at the head of Polish auxiliaries. He sent his Queen and his child to the

Court of the German Emperor, and entreated his assistance. A few troops of German mercenaries made their appearance in pursuance of his request; but when (A.D. 1060) Bela invaded Hungary, the Hungarians joined his standard. Andreas and his auxiliaries were driven across the Theiss, and Andreas himself was killed in his flight. Bela was proclaimed King on the field of battle.

The new warrior-king seized the reins of Government with a strong hand. He published a general amnesty, he reformed old abuses, limited the expenditure, and gained all hearts by strict and impartial justice. A friend of liberty, beyond the comprehension of the eleventh century, one of his first acts was the convocation of a general Diet at Stuhlweissenburg, for which he arranged the elections on the broadest probable basis, for each place in the country (Quælibet Villa) was entitled to send two deputies. But his innovations did not answer his expectations. The people remembered that in the war against Peter, the King had not opposed Paganism, and they saw that he extended the institutions of St. Stephen. They sent their deputies to Weissenburg. To that city came also John, the son of Vatha, and with him a 'posse comitatus' of soothsayers and witches. John erected hustings, and inflamed the public mind by his speeches. The assembled crowd were unanimous in their demand for the restoration of Paganism. They surrounded the King's palace, threatening and riotous. The bishops and the King's councillors trembled, but Bela, undismayed, promised the riotous populace that he would give them a decisive answer within three days. In the course of that time, he ordered the garri-

sons of his castles to march upon Weissenburg, and on the third day, the rioters found themselves surrounded by the King's troops. Still they insisted in their demand. Bela's soldiers attacked and dispersed them. Their leaders were captured, and John, his soothsayers and witches, were executed. Thus ended the third and last insurrection in favour of Paganism. Bela's victory confirmed Christianity for all future times, though after many years there were still some heathens found, who sacrificed to the Gods of Nature on the forest-covered peaks of the mountains, or in the caverns of the rocks.

Bela displayed a restless activity in his attempts to improve the state of the country, and to introduce the essentials of a higher civilization. He urged the Hungarians to resign the vagrant tent, and to fix themselves in permanent homes. He appointed fairs in the various market-towns, and insisted on their being held on Saturdays, instead of on Sundays; he coined a certain quantity of money, and thus created a circulating medium, in the place of the old Hungarian barter-trade. Besides these things, Bela regulated the measures and weights, and fixed the average prices of victuals, and of other objects of daily trade and intercourse. The last-named measures are not, indeed, agreeable to modern principles of political economy, but the financial philosophers in this country will doubtless give a free pardon to the shade of King Bela, if they consider that to this day the whole of the East, and indeed the people of Vienna, are not one jot wiser in their generation, than the prince of a semi-barbarous people in the middle of the 11th century was in his. Indeed, the Austrian functionaries flatter them-

selves with a belief, that nothing but their decrees about the respective prices of bread and meat, can protect the mass of the people against being imposed upon.

The wounds which former governments had inflicted on the country, were healed under the auspices of Bela's short-lived dominion. "The people were satisfied," writes an old historian, "for the poor became rich, and the rich prospered in safety and peace." But Bela came to a sudden death in 1063. Some writers state that he lost his life by a fall with his horse, and others assert that his regal seat broke down under him, and crushed him in the fall. Bela's sons, Geiza, Ladislas, and Lampert, were heirs to their father's bravery, while they surpassed him in zeal for the Christian religion. They respected the rights which Solomon (Andreas' son) had obtained by his coronation. The majority of the chiefs would have preferred Geiza to young Solomon, who lived in Germany, and who had become a kinsman of the German Emperor. But Geiza wished to spare the country the distress of a foreign invasion, and he was aware that the news of the death of his heroic father would attract Solomon, and an army of German auxiliaries to support his title to the crown. To prevent this contingency, the sons of Bela sent ambassadors to their cousin, offering to surrender the crown if he would grant them one-third of the kingdom, viz. the ducal domains of their late father. Solomon accepted the offer. He came to Stuhlweissenburg, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the German Emperor Henry IV. He was crowned for the second time, and received the homage of the Estates of Hungary, who, however reluctant to receive him, followed the example of the sons of Bela.

King Solomon had just completed his eleventh year. A boy of his age must necessarily be under the dominion of some person or persons, and Solomon was swayed by the councils and the influences of the Count Vid,—the same who had caused the estrangement between the brothers Andreas and Bela. By his fatal influence the dukedom was taken away from the sons of Bela. They escaped into Poland. Solomon opened negotiations with Boleslas, King of the Poles, whom, by his promises, he tried to induce to surrender the fugitives. But Boleslas was not to be tempted into an action which he considered as dishonourable, and even as infamous. The three princes assembled an army, and invaded Hungary. King Solomon retreated to the German frontier, and there awaited their attack in a fortified camp, at Wieselburg. But before blood was shed on either side, the bishops interfered, and succeeded in reconciling the hostile parties. The three princes made a formal resignation of the crown, and were reinstated in their paternal domains: and for the purpose of confirming this transaction solemnly and publicly, Solomon was crowned for the third time. The ceremony was performed by the hands of Geiza, who, in placing the crown on his cousin's head, recognized his royal sovereignty.

For ten years did the dukes and the king live in perfect harmony. They united in defending Hungary against all foreign enemies; in the north-west against the Sclavonian Moravians, and in the south-east against the Kumans. In the course of these wars, Ladislas came to be the favourite of the people, and the hero of numberless legends, but this popularity and the fame of his deeds caused the discord which broke

out among the princes. Bissene hordes had been in the habit of ravaging the southern provinces of Hungary: they were protected by Nicketas, the Grecian commander of Belgrade. At length the Hungarians became impatient of these frequent violations of their territory. In the year 1022 they drove the freebooters across the Save, and besieged Belgrade for the purpose of punishing the Grecian garrison of that place. For a long time the siege was fruitless, but at last it happened that a captive Hungarian girl set fire to the town. While the conflagration was at its height, the besiegers stormed the walls of Belgrade. Niketas retreated to the citadel, which he surrendered when he saw that there was no hope of a rescue. He made the condition, that he and his army should be allowed to return to their country; and when he had received a promise that this condition would be complied with, he surrendered, not to the King, but to the Duke Geiza. King Solomon felt offended with the preference shown to the Duke, and his courtiers were eager to foster the sparks of dissension between the cousins. When the booty was divided, King Solomon seized the opportunity to have his revenge. Instead of awarding to the Dukes one-half, he gave them one-fourth of the booty, pretending that Niketas and the garrison of Belgrade ought to be considered as an equivalent for the other quarter. The Duke submitted to this imposition. But when Michael Dukas, the Emperor of Byzantium, sent a golden crown to Geiza, in token of his gratitude for the humane treatment which Niketas had received at his hands, Solomon was induced to listen to the inuendos of the old enemy of Bela's house. Count Vid told the King that the Dukes were pretenders to the

crown, and from that moment Solomon endeavoured to overpower and capture his cousins. The intrigue was betrayed to the Dukes. Upon this the two young princes, Ladislas and Lampert, hastened to Poland and Red Russia to call in auxiliaries, while Solomon appealed to Germany for help. In this instance, Solomon again stooped to acknowledge himself the vassal of the German Emperor. But his endeavours were as fruitless as those of the Dukes, and the contending parties understood at length that their safest plan was to accept the mediation of the Hungarian chiefs. A compromise was effected in 1024. But the part which Solomon acted was by no means sincere, for immediately after the reconciliation, he made an attempt to assassinate Geiza when hunting. The attempt failed, and Geiza became convinced that there would be no peace between him and King Solomon. Acting upon this conviction, he again sent his brother out of the country, to ask for help against the King of Hungary. Before they could return to his assistance, King Solomon struck a sudden blow against Geiza, and defeated his small army on the banks of the Theiss. But Duke Ladislas was approaching at the head of Moravian troops. The courtiers of Upper Hungary joined him. On the Danube he effected a junction with the forces of his brother Geiza. He advanced and defeated Solomon, in a battle in which the Count Vid, the author of the war, was found among the slain. Solomon made his escape to Germany, and although Geiza protested against the offer of the crown, he was solemnly crowned amidst the cheers and exultation of the whole nation. The new king was reluctant to engage in a war with Germany. He opened negociations with Solomon; for he was resolved to sur-

render the crown to the exiled king, if the quiet possession of the dukedom were but guaranteed to himself and his brethren. But the chiefs of the kingdom and the people at large hated Solomon on account of his predilection for the Germans, and his attempts to degrade the kingdom of Hungary into a German fief. The bishops alone were in his favour, and took every opportunity to confirm Geiza in his resolution, when his sudden death (A.D. 1072) put a stop to the negotiations. His brother and successor Ladislas (who ought to be called "the Great," had not the Church called him "the Saint") was, as we learn from the chronicles of the time, the handsomest and tallest man in all Hungary. He had proved the strength of his heroic arm in the war against the Kumans, Bissens, and against the King Solomon. The people considered him as the true successor of St. Stephen, and offered him the crown by acclamation. But Ladislas was as little inclined as his brother Geiza had been to bear the reproach of having usurped the rights of another. He would not be satisfied, until by the mediation of the pope and the bishops he prevailed upon Solomon to resign his rights to the crown in consideration of a liberal annuity. Solomon entered into and ratified the agreement four years after Ladislas's advent to power; and it was then only that the latter accepted the crown. No foreign war threatened his frontiers. He was therefore left at liberty to devote all his energies to the internal policy of his kingdom. He continued the work which St. Stephen had begun. That sainted King had arranged the constitution and the public law: Ladislas introduced a code of civil and criminal laws. Stephen had placed the constitution of the

country on a Christian foundation: Ladislas became the legislator of the Hungarians, who had meanwhile settled down into an agricultural people. St. Stephen had protected liberty on its transition from paganism to Christianity: Ladislas directed and arranged the affairs of civil life, during the transition from the life of herdsmen to agricultural occupations. These important improvements were sanctioned in the session of the Diet of 1082. After a lapse of twelve years Ladislas and his Diet arranged the affairs of the Church, and this too under the reign of Gregory VII.; for Ladislas, though a sincere and pious man, insisted on the right of the King and people of Hungary, to be in ecclesiastical affairs independent of the pope, though in harmony with the precepts of the Church. He governed Hungary for 18 years; his subjects loved him; his neighbours respected him, and his enemies feared him. When Solomon, in spite of the terms of his resignation, endeavoured to possess himself of the crown, Ladislas ordered him to be seized, and confined in the tower of Visegrad; but when King Stephen and his son Emrich were canonized by the Pope, Ladislas liberated the pretender; for he thought it hard that one of Stephen's descendants should languish in captivity on such a day. The Kumans, a pagan people of the Hungarian stock, who lived in Moldavia and Wallachia, and who distressed his country by frequent inroads, were repeatedly defeated by Ladislas, who pursued them over the frontiers of their own country, when he fought a duel with and killed Akosh, the king of the Kumans, a man of gigantic height. Ladislas joined Croatia to Hungary, and extended the confines of the country to the coast of the Adriatic, where his provinces were con-

tiguous to those of the Venetian Republic. In the North, he compelled the three princes of Halitsh and Vladimir*, to recognize the supremacy of the Hungarian crown. By this act he became the founder of that legal title to which Maria Theresa appealed, when 700 years later, she, as queen of Hungary, claimed those provinces in the first partition of Poland. So generally was King Ladislas's early Christian spirit acknowledged throughout Christendom, that when the first Crusade was resolved on in the Council of Piacenza (A.D. 1095) the command of the expedition was unanimously offered to King Ladislas, the most gallant and Christian of the European kings. A splendid embassy brought the news to Hungary. The King accepted the offer, which did him no small honour, but he died a few months afterwards. A general mourning of three years followed his death. No music was heard. There were no festivities; for the hearts of his subjects clung to the remembrance of their gallant King.

Ladislas, the handsome Cavalier, was succeeded (A.D. 1095) by Coloman, the crooked and squinting son of Geiza,—a man, not of arms, but of science, whom the people nick-named "Book Coloman" (Könyves Kalman) while they feared him as a most powerful wizard. But Coloman's misshapen body contained a strong mind, and though less generous than his uncle, and less conscientious than his father, he was quick of resolution and firm of purpose, and well fitted to protect the independence of the country in perilous times. An insurrection of the Croats, who believed that the

* Red Russia, the present Gallicia and Lodomeria.

new king was utterly ignorant of the trade of arms, gave him an opportunity of testing his powers. He suppressed the insurrection, completed the incorporation of Croatia, and conquered the maritime cities which had formerly resisted the attacks of Ladislas. He had scarcely finished his conquest, when he was obliged to turn to the German frontier, for ever since Peter the Hermit had preached a crusade at the Council of Clermont, the whole of Western Europe was infected with holy fanaticism. Large armies of disciplined troops and countless hordes of plunderers and marauders marched through Hungary and the Byzantine Empire on their way to Jerusalem. Koloman received them with great suspicion; for all the reckless adventurers of Europe was amongst them, and many of them would have undertaken the conquest of an empire as a pioneer to the expedition to the Holy Land. The first army of Crusaders of 20,000 men, and led by the brave knight, Walter Havenothing (Gauthier de Sans Avoir), were well received by the King, who escorted them to Semlin, when some of their *marodeurs*, who pillaged the country, were cut down by the peasantry. The second Crusading army, headed by Peter of Amiens, and numbering 40,000 men, advanced likewise to Semlin, without offence on either side; but when they found the armour of Walter's crusading *marodeurs* kept as trophies by the people of Semlin, they attacked, entered and sacked the unfortunate city, and as soon as they heard of the king's approach, escaped across the Danube. They were followed by two troops of 12 and 15,000 men, under Volkmar and Gottshalk, who commenced plundering as soon as they crossed

the Hungarian frontier. In return, the people rose and exterminated them to the last man. A similar fate was in store for the larger armies of the Count Emico, which in some exaggerated statements, are quoted at 200,000 men. Emico's troops wished to punish the Hungarians for the destruction of the preceding armies, but the King Koloman, whom they at first oppressed by superior numbers, surprised them at night, drove them into the river Laytha and into the morasses of Wieselburg, and compelled the few that remained to consult their safety by returning to Germany. At length came the main army of the Crusaders, under the command of Geoffrey of Bouillon. They amounted to 100,000 armed and disciplined troops. Their leader concluded a treaty with Koloman, in which a free passage was promised to the Crusaders, and in which the prices of provisions were fixed, and the supplies guaranteed. Koloman accompanied the foreign troops with his army, after having offered them a royal entertainment at Oedenburg, and the princes bade each other adieu on the Greek frontier.

But the danger of foreign violence was scarcely over, when still greater dangers rose out of Hungarian soil. Almos, the King's cousin, who was Duke over one third of the empire, intrigued to possess himself of the crown. The King, on the other hand, was impatient of another man's sovereignty in his country, and the old feud of Bela with Andreas, of Geisa with Solomon, of the sword with the crown, was on the point of convulsing the kingdom. But Koloman was energetic and bold. He defeated Almos' plans and forces. Koloman very generously granted his vanquished foe a free pardon: but when Almos rebelled for

the second and indeed for the third time, Koloman surprised him in the midst of a new intrigue, made him a prisoner, and in a fit of mad cruelty, ordered the eyes of the Duke to be put out; nay, not only his, but also those of his innocent son, Bela, so as to disable both father and son from aspiring to the government. The unfortunate Princes fled to a Convent, and the monks spread a rumour of their death.

While the King attempted in his cruel manner to prevent a civil war, his jealousy and violence planted the seeds of another war; for, suspecting his wife Queen Predzlava of being unfaithful to him, he sent her back to her relations in Poland, where she died, after giving birth to Boris, the future pretender to the crown of Hungary. In spite of his fitful violence and cruelty, Koloman was not altogether unworthy of his predecessors. He completed the work of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas. Under his government, the institutions and laws of the country were improved by the Diet, and, strange to say, it is the lenient spirit pervading them, which characterizes the statutes of Koloman. The king died 1114. With him ended the first and most important period in the existence of the Hungarian cities. He is the last legislator of the time of transition from Asiatic and accession to European civilization. The laws of Hungary, from Stephen the Saint to Koloman, form an organic whole which extends in three directions, viz:

The *idea of Christianity* pervades all their statutes in *the independence of the country*, in its relations to foreign nations, and *the liberty of the people* at home, and lastly in the establishment of a strong central power. The two last named objects were attained by encroachments

on the influence of the native chiefs, which caused the chaos to unite, and merge into a constitution and monarchy.

An inquiry into the development of the Hungarian Constitution in this epoch, and some extracts from the statutes of our three great legislators, will give a clear idea of the condition of the people, while it furnishes our reader with a standard of just appreciation of the three Kings: Stephen, Ladislas, and Koloman.

When the Hungarians were still wandering through the heaths of Asia, between the Irtish and Wolga; when they subjugated their neighbours, and were in their turn subjugated by them; they lived, like the Circassians of the present day, in a patriarchal clansmanship. The nation was divided into seven tribes, which were again subdivided into a number of families. A similar heptarchy may be found among their kinsmen, the Uzi, Kumanis, Bissenis, and Khazaris. The last named people alone, had elected the most powerful of their chiefs to the dignity of Khan, and this circumstance gave them for a time a great power among their neighbours. When, therefore, the Hungarians were resolved to wander onward in quest of new homes, their seven chiefs met, and concluded that first and original contract, which up to the latest times has been considered as the foundation of the Hungarian Constitution. According to an Asiatic custom, they ripped the skin of the arm, mixed the blood with wine and resolved:

1. That they should elect Almos and his generation after him, to be their duke, that he should guide them and lead them in war.

2. That the common booty of the field should be fairly divided amongst them.

3. That the chiefs who, of their own free-will, had elected Almos, should not, nor should their descendants after them, be excluded from the councils of the duke.

4. That those who break their allegiance to the duke, or who foster dissensions between him and the chiefs, shall find no room on the face of the earth, and that their blood shall be shed, like the blood which runs from the arms of the contracting parties.

5. If the duke were to break the contract, that he shall be deposed, and cursed, and banished.

This *contrat social* marks the first step of the Hungarians into history, for it was this contract which made them a nation. In confirmation of it, the seven princes Almos, Elöd, Kund, Und, Tas, Hùba, and Tuhutum sacrificed the blood and wine as a libation to the gods.

This contract made the duke in the first instance no more than a *primus inter pares*. He was a leader in war, but not a sovereign in times of peace, and the chiefs retained an undiminished jurisdiction among the members of their tribes. The second clause of the contract made it possible for the duke to extend his power. When, on entering Hungary, Almos resigned to his son Arpád, and Arpád conquered the country, the territory was divided by the first Diet, held at Puszta-Szer, in the vicinity of Szegedin. The mutual relations between the Princes, the chiefs, and the people were determined, and judges appointed. Thus we find in this first period, the traces of an orderly Government, and of a free Constitution. In this time too, we find the first vestiges of municipal institu-

tions, and of the military arrangements of the country. In its administrative relations, Hungary was divided into counties; for the purposes of war, it was divided into baronies (Schlossbezirke). Fortified castles were built in various places, and the territories surrounding them were given into the hands of a number of Hungarian colonists, who cultivated them in common, and the harvests were so divided, that one half fell to the share of the colonists, who formed likewise the garrison of the castle, while the other half was divided into three parts. One third fell to the share of the Commander of the Castle (Comes Castrensis) who had also a judicial power over the vassals of the castle lands, and two thirds were devoted to the victualling of the castle, and providing for the want of its garrison. The castle lands were considered to be the property of the State; they became the foundation of the military institutions of Hungary, for the garrisons of the castles formed the most efficient military power of the country. The Hungarians were, moreover, free and equal in political rights, with the exception of the chiefs, who formed a high aristocracy among them. Those of the original inhabitants of the country who made a voluntary surrender, were received as allies and friends, but those who had opposed the Hungarian invasion, were reduced to the state of serfs, and compelled to till their former possessions for the benefit of their masters.

The predatory expeditions of the Hungarians under the leadership of Zoltan and Taksony, the son and grandson of Arpád filled the country with bondsmen from all parts of Europe. These captives were likewise employed in tilling the ground, for the Hungarians were

warriors when young, and herdsmen when old, and amidst the numbers of captive bondsmen and native serfs, they formed a national aristocracy.

The introduction of the Christian religion by St. Stephen, caused a great political revolution, not only because it strengthened the power of the Princes, while it paralyzed the influence of the chiefs, (since they were rivalled in the King's councils by the newly created bishops, who in the Diet, stood forth as the first Estate,) but an important change took place in the condition and relations of the people. The Christian bondsmen were suddenly emancipated, for Stephen was of opinion, that Christianity ought to effect both the moral and the political liberation of its adherents. The obstinate pagans, on the other hand, were deprived of their liberty. The number of those who preferred their old creed to their freedom was considerable, and Thonuzoba, the Chief of the Bissens, set them an example, which taught them to escape at once from servitude and Christianity. He proceeded to Abad on the banks of the Theiss, and dressed in full armour and sitting on his horse, he caused himself to be buried alive, as an expiatory sacrifice to the gods, "For he preferred," says the Chronicler, "death with his fathers, to eternal life with Christ."

Stephen, who knew the character of his people, surrounded himself with Chiefs and Magnates, for the purpose of increasing the splendour of the court, which the Bishops thronged with the ministers of spiritual power. As for the people, he classed them off into the high nobility (domini), Bishops and Chiefs who led their men under their own banners; and into the nobility or possessors of allod (nobiles, servientes regi),

who assembled under the King's banner; and the soldiers or franklins who belonged to the castle banners (servientes castrei).

The whole united body of these formed the *Diet*, and their consent was required to promote the King's decrees to the dignity of laws. It is but natural that the Domini had for a length of time, an influence which carried every thing before it. The influence of the jobbagiones castrenses has never been exactly ascertained, but it appears to have been less than the influence of the nobility, of the jobbagiones or servientes regales. But, however unequal the political rights of the Hungarians may have been, their rights of possession were equal, and the words of one of their Kings: "Neque habet quis Dominorum plus, neque servientium minus de libertate," apply exactly to the condition of the people under King Stephen. The judicial power of the Chiefs of Clans declined, and the Hungarian freeman was subject to no one, but to the King and his representative, the Palatine. To break the dangerous influence and power of the Chiefs, the members of the clans were emancipated from the duties they owed to their tribe. From clansmen they became citizens of the country.

The administration of justice was organized in an extremely simple manner. The King, accompanied by his Palatin, made frequent journeys through the country, and wherever he stopped on his progress, the Bishops and Magnates of the surrounding districts assembled under his presidency, for the purpose of hearing the complaints and deciding the quarrels which the people brought before them. In this primitive state of jurisprudence, all justice emanated directly

from the King. The Comes Castrensis had, moreover, a constant jurisdiction over the colonists, who formed the garrison of his castle, (jobbagiones or servientes castri), not only in matters of military discipline, but also in all civil and criminal cases, which came to his cognizance.

It is under King Stephen, too, that we meet with the first traces of feudalism in Hungary. Grants are not given with a full and unlimited title, they become a kind of hereditary fiefs, and the feoffer and his descendants are obliged to do military service. An escheat takes place in the case of the family of the holder becoming extinct, and in cases of felony, but excepting their restrictions to an unlimited title, the feoffer has the free disposal of his property. We find also persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, in breeding horses and in hunting, who hold their grant under special conditions.

Besides the three large classes of Hungarian freemen, we find in this period, a fourth class of citizens, viz. the emancipated bondsmen, and the naturalized aliens, (libertini, dushenici, hospites), who were not called upon to do military service, who had no political rights, and who paid taxes to the King, but who are not subject to any one besides him. This class produced in the course of time, the citizens of towns and the mass of the people, those that are not free-men, who are subject to their Lords, who work for them, and who pay their taxes to them.

With respect to criminal legislature, we find it founded under King Stephen on the old Hebrew principles of retaliation—eye for eye, and tooth for tooth; we find likewise the Germanic "Wehrgeld," the price of

blood (homagium). Treason, murder, and theft (if frequently repeated) are punished with death, but manslaughter is atoned for by a fine, which is paid to the relations of the sufferer. Frequently we find the punishment of various crimes falling under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; churches have the right of asylum, but this right does not protect a traitor to the King, while the King's court, and the houses of the great functionaries have likewise the right of asylum.

These laws bear the stamp of a state which has scarcely entered upon its existence. The simple relations of vagrant life, in which collisions are scarce, and by no means of a serious character, are sufficient to explain why a greater share of attention is devoted to the constitution, and less on the legislation of the country. The Empire is growing into being, and the very court of the King is as vagrant as the rest of the people.

Ladislas takes a long stride in advance. His decrees too, are founded on the establishment of Christianity as a system; his statutes are pervaded by an ecclesiastical spirit, but the arrangement of the Constitution is not with him, paramount to all other considerations. He aims at the creation of a code of laws. His object is no longer to *create* the state, but to *develope it*. The people have become more civilized; their vagrant habits are on the decline, but the increase of fixed habitations produces an increased litigation about the "meum and tuum;" individuals are brought more frequently into contact with one another, and the feelings which this contact excites, are not always kind. Collisions and complaints necessitate a fixed legislation, and a rule for the protection of persons and properties. The statutes

of Ladislas tend, therefore, to confirm Christian morals among his people, and to establish a uniform and equitable standard of civil and criminal law.

King Bela had in his time, published a decree fixing the market-day on Saturdays, instead of on Sundays. This is a sign that the people ceased to lead a nomade life, for among nomade populations, trade is necessarily joined to religion. A herdsman cannot leave his flocks at any time; he meets his neighbours chiefly for the purpose of divine service, and having served his God, he transacts business with his fellows. The bartering transactions of nomadical nations, are almost always in connexion with their religious ceremonies. To this day we find trade and commerce in Arabia and Africa, bound up with the annual caravans and pilgrimages. Ladislas made a law enjoining a due observance of the Sundays and Christian festivals; the transgressors of this law were threatened with ecclesiastical punishments, and those who utterly despised this Christian ordinance were peremptorily exiled. Ladislas enforced not only the confession, but also the active morals of the Christian creed, and those who sacrifice to the Pagan divinities are denounced in the strongest language. As for the Jewish and Mohammedan merchants in the kingdom, the law tolerates the Jews, but they are bound to respect the Christian Sabbath, and to eschew the keeping of Christian servants; while the Mahometans are divided among the country people, and compelled to make confession of Christianity. We learn from the statutes of Ladislas, that the conversion of the Hungarians was completed. They have adopted Christianity, and the tendency of the statutes of

Ladislas is to compel them to act up to their new creed.

In his statutes of civil law, we find thieves threatened with severe punishment. Property is turned to account and has come to be protected. Instant execution, with no respect to the person of the culprit is enjoined, when the value of the stolen goods exceeds the sum of ten denars, nor can it be pleaded in extenuation of the crime, that the thief has indemnified the person from whom he stole. In petty cases of theft, an indemnification of twelve times the value of the stolen goods was exacted from the thief, if he was a free-man; if not, he was mutilated, and lost his nose or one of his eyes. He who robs his neighbour of his landed property, forfeits his liberty and his goods. In the case of an assassination, the property of the murderer is confiscated, and one third is given to his natural heirs, while two thirds fall to the share of the person whom he has killed.

The administration of justice assumes a more systematic aspect than it had in the times of Stephen. Two judges are appointed in each county, and instructed to take cognizance of and inquire into all complaints, and to report the cases to the King or Palatine, on their progress through the country. In token of their office, they have a knightly seal, which they send to the defendant when they summon him to make his appearance in court. Their summons is imperative for all the inhabitants of their district, and those that refuse to obey it, are in the first instance subjected to a fine; and in the second, judgment is passed against them, as if they had made their appearance. The clergy who resorted to the Bishops, and the Bishops and Comites, or in a

word, the Domini, who could only be summoned under the Great Seal, were dispensed from obedience to the summons of the County-Judges. The judicial proceedings are public, and under the Chapter of Evidence, we find witnesses, oaths and ordeals (ordalia). Appeal from the verdicts of the judges cannot be made within a twelvemonth to the King or Palatine. The statutes of Ladislas determine the limits of the jurisdiction of the various courts, so as to enable every man to know who was his judge, and in what case; and it was expressly provided, that each information of a crime ought to be examined within three days, and that in a civil suit, judgment ought to be delivered within thirty days.

These laws bear witness of a civilized, though simple, condition of the people. Since the time of Stephen they have come to be more European, and the principles of the safety of persons and of property is generally prevailing.

The laws of Koloman show more statesmanship than those of his predecessors. The King's revenues and the military duties, and general relations of those citizens of the State who are subjects to the Duke, with regard to those who are immediate subjects of the King, and the principal subjects of his statutes. He regulates the various titles of possession, he determines the duties of the Comites Castrenses, he establishes new Courts of Appeal, and fixes the yearly terms for the courts often, viz. the days of St. Philip, James, and St. Michael. On those days the Bishops, the Magnates of the Empire, and the Comites, assembled and decided on the cases of the "lords" among themselves,

and on the cases between ecclesiastics and laymen. They are compelled to take cognizance of, and decide on all complaints of improper use of official power, even in the case of the highest functionaries. An unfair decision exposes the judges to be indicted before the Episcopal Court, or before the Palatine, and if he is found guilty, he is bound to indemnify the aggrieved party.

But most extraordinary is Koloman's penal legislation, for in respect to them he is far in advance of his time. He limited the ordalia, the verdict found by means of red hot iron, and boiling water, which was so frequent in the time of Ladislas. He decreed (in the eleventh century) that no information should be received against witches, *because there are no witches*!* Mutilation, which is a conspicuous feature in the penal code of Ladislas, is by Koloman commuted into fines and other punishments; and in the case of infanticide he decrees that the wretched mother is to be left to the penance of the Church, and to the pangs of her own conscience.

The financial measures of this King are most simple. A duty of five per cent on imports and exports, a market tax (tributum fori), direct taxes imposed on all freemen who were not noble (denarii libertinorum), and on the hospites (udvornici regales), served for the maintenance of the court, and to defray the public ex-

* We ought to remark that, in spite of Koloman's statute, proceedings against witches were of frequent occurrence from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The last witch was burnt at Szegedin, under the reign of Maria Theresa. This unfortunate woman was the mother of the monk Dugoniez, who is famous as a novel writer.

penses, while one half of the proceeds of the castle-lands remained, as before, the basis of the military establishment.

The laws on the ecclesiastical tithes, which Stephen had introduced, and on the due observance of Sundays and Saints' days, were renewed; the Ismaelites were restrained from marrying women of their own tribe, to prevent the doctrines of Mohammed from being handed down in the families of those, who had been forced to accept the Christian religion under Ladislas. The Jews were compelled to live in episcopal towns, to afford them an opportunity for their conversion. From a political point of view, Koloman, though tenacious of the rights of the Hungarian Kings, was not prone to try too great a stress on the right of "investiture." He resigned it, because he was loath to offend the Pope, at the very moment in which the whole of Western Europe, influenced and fanaticized by the Pope, was advancing through Hungary to the Holy Land; for he was aware that the Crusader would, in the case of a quarrel between himself and the Pope, turn their arms against his country and his throne. However great our respect for King Ladislas may be, who refused to comply with the demands of the powerful Gregory VII. we cannot deny that Koloman's views were just and rational, when he preferred to resign a contested right, rather than to risk the independence of his country.

This short sketch of the history of the Hungarian law and Constitution, shows the introduction of that nation into the great Christian family of European nations, by means of a series of energetic Kings. We

see that the Western civilization of Rome and Germany had greater influence upon them, than the Oriental culture of Byzantium; but whenever Germany attempted to gain any influence by the sword, or whenever it threatened the independence of Hungary, we see the people rise, repel the invaders, and assert its own rights. Such is the character of the first period of the History of Hungary.

Among the successors of Koloman (from his son Stephen II. to Andreas II. 1114 to 1205), Hungary is chiefly under the influence of Byzantium. That Empire was then seized by a family of clever and cunning Princes, the Comneni, who covered the young states of Hungary with the net of their intrigues, gaining its princes for their policy by marriages, by wars, and by subsidies. Their end and aim was to make up in the West, for their losses in the East. The Hungarian Kings of this period are unlike their predecessors; among them we find no great legislator, no hero, and excepting Bela III. no statesman. The Kingdom declined under the influence of the intrigues, and the extravagance of its rulers, who were unequal to the task of continuing the work of Stephen, Ladislas, and Koloman. The history of this period is less interesting for the philosophical inquirer than that of the former Kings. Indeed, there is nothing striking in it, but the few romantic traits in the personal adventures of some of the Kings.

Stephen II. (son to Koloman), flattered himself that he equalled Solomon in wisdom, Samson in bravery, and David in boldness; but he was no such thing, as the old Chronicler most naïvely remarks. He got the

kingdom into sundry disreputable feuds with his neighbours in Austria, Red Russia, and Byzantium, and all these feuds had no other results than that they caused great bloodshed and misery. He had no legitimate issue, and, therefore, he was resolved to recognize Boris, the son of Predzlava (Koloman's divorced Queen) as his brother and successor, when he learnt that Bela, the son of the wretched and traitorous Duke Almas, was still in life, though robbed of his eye-sight. Stephen was but too happy to have an opportunity to atone for his father's crime. He sent for Bela, and united him to Helena, the masculine and energetic daughter of the Servian Prince Uros. Soon afterwards King Stephen resolved to be a monk and died (1131), sincerely lamenting the errors of his youth and his weakness, which in earlier years had made him a victim to the charms of the Hungarian girls.*

Bela II. was throughout his reign influenced by his wife. Helena was energetic, and severe even to cruelty, while her husband was equally weak and good-natured. The Queen wished to be revenged on those, who in former years had assisted in the mutilation of her husband; and at the Diet of Arad (1132), she made her appearance leading her two sons by the hand. In a pathetic speech she expatiated on the wretched condition of the King, her husband, who was deprived of his sight, while all his subjects enjoyed the view of the beauties of Nature. And why was he blind? Merely because he was his father's son, and because King

* The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be,
The devil grew whole—the devil a monk was he!"
OLD PROVERB.

Koloman's hate wanted a second victim! She concluded her speech by asking for justice for the King, and for the punishment of those, whose advice had induced King Koloman to commit so heinous a crime. Fanaticized by the Queen's speech, the Magnates rose, and drawing their swords, killed sixty-eight friends and advisers of King Koloman, because they suspected them of having been privy to the mutilation of Bela. Others were imprisoned, exiled, and their property was confiscated. It is but natural that this gratuitous cruelty should have strengthened the partisans of Boris, who, encouraged by the exiles, attempted at length to invade the country. This invasion led to no result, and all the other attempts of the Pretender led to nothing, but to a repetition of the Arad butchery. For at a meeting of the Magnates of the Kingdom, Helena stood forth and asked them, whether they were of opinion that Boris was the legitimate son of Koloman. Those who replied in the affirmative, or who gave an evasive answer, were arrested and executed on the spot.

Bela was fond of saying, "that misfortune is a greater blessing than good fortune, that success makes men reckless and overbearing; but that misery is the parent of wisdom and perseverance." But this charming philosophy of his was by no means manifested in his measures of government. His loose and easy character made him throw away large sums on his favourites, to the detriment of the available funds for the military establishment of the country. On the other hand, the cruelty of Queen Helena strengthened the power of the Crown. The influence of the Chiefs was all but annihilated, and the King was almost absolute, when Bela died in 1171, leaving his son

Geza, a minor of less than ten years of age. The Diet appointed a Regency, consisting of the Palatine Belus, Uros, the King's uncle, and the Archbishop of Gran. They were all men of distinguished talent, and commemorated the period of their Regency by an important measure, fruitful of consequences. They favoured the immigration into Hungary of Germans from Flanders, who settled in the county of Zips and in Transylvania, and on whom they bestowed some signal privileges, such as a jurisdictionand municipal constitution of their own. The colonists of those days are the ancestors of the "Saxons" in Transylvania.

The new settlers, especially those who inhabited the Carpathian districts of Lower Hungary, devoted themselves to the exploration of the mining resources of the country. They were the first miners and manufacturers in Hungary, and their influence was beneficially exerted in the development of the towns.

Shortly afterwards the scenes of the reign of King Koloman were acted over again. The speeches of Bernhard of Clairvaux fanaticized the nations of Europe, and urged them to another expedition against the Saracens, and the armies of the Crusaders marched again through Hungary, without, however, imparting their enthusiasm to its inhabitants. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, with his Germans, took the lead, and sorely was he tempted on this occasion to reduce Hungary to the condition of a fief of his empire; and, even without being the sovereign of the country, he levied contributions from convents and churches. After him came the French, under Louis VII., keeping a severe discipline, and meeting with a better reception

than the German Emperor could boast of. But still King Geiza thought proper to assemble his army, and to escort his guests to the frontier. But this danger was scarcely over, when Geiza, like Stephen II., rushed into a variety of feuds and wars. The most important of these wars is doubtless his expedition against Manuel, the Emperor of Byzantium. This war led to no decisive result; but the influence of the Greeks increased, and when Geiza died suddenly in 1161, leaving his successor Stephen III., a minor, Manuel interfered to a considerable extent in the Hungarian affairs, by raising the brothers of Geiza, Ladislas II., and after his decease, Stephen IV. to the throne. But the Hungarians would not be reconciled to the Clients of the Eastern Emperor. They were upheld only by the armies of Manuel, and the Emperor became at last convinced that the conquest of the country was a hopeless undertaking. The decease of the two pretenders enabled him to conclude a peace. He adopted Bela, the King's brother, made him his son-in-law, and promised to procure his succession to the throne of Byzantium. But in the meanwhile, Manuel became most unexpectedly father to a son. Stephen III. died in 1173, and Bela III. of that name ascended the Hungarian throne instead of that of Byzantium. He was the ablest king who had reigned since the days of Koloman; but he was never popular in his country, for he was a Byzantine, and not an Hungarian. He introduced the ceremonies of the Court of Constantinople, he appointed Grand Dignitaries, and at one time he burnt all the chairs which surrounded the throne in the Council-hall, to prevent the Magnates from sitting

down in his presence. The management of affairs was given to the Chancellor; petitions and remonstrances were to be made in writing, and the royal decision was likewise conveyed by means of ink and parchment. But, on the other hand, the King was eager to improve the condition of the country. Thieves and robbers were treated with great severity; the safety of the public highways was restored, and great pains were taken to prevent a foreign war, and to give the country, exhausted from its late feuds, time to regain its ancient propriety. But among all these multifarious objects, the King was by no means unmindful of his own private treasury, for he was altogether a prince in the modern spirit of Louis-Philippe.

He died in 1195, leaving two sons, Emrich and Andreas, and with them the germs of a civil war, for it might have been expected that the younger brother would insist on having a dukedom, and afterwards a crown, as it happened in the reigns of Andreas, Solomon, Koloman, and Stephen III. To obviate this danger, Bela compelled his younger son to pledge his word that he would make a Crusade to the Holy Grave, for which purpose the King left him the contents of his private treasury. But Andreas had no intention whatever to act up to his promise; he spent his riches to gain the good offices of a party, and at the head of that party he made a peremptory demand for the provinces of Croatia and Dalmatia; and when King Emrich refused to comply with his request, he advanced, and seized the two provinces by force. A war ensued, which led to a peace, by which Andreas was confirmed

in the possession of Croatia and Dalmatia, under the express condition that he should make his expedition to Palestine. He promised, but he did not keep his word.. Another war broke out in 1199, and a third in 1203; for in that year Emrich had his son, the boy Ladislas, crowned as a King of Hungary, and by this act he deprived Andreas of his last hope of the crown. Andreas rebelled against his brother, and marched against him at the head of a large army. Emrich found that many of his supporters abandoned him, for the profuse liberality of Andreas induced many men of distinction and power to join his party.

The extremity of his circumstances caused Emrich to throw all his hopes of safety upon one cast. Dressed in his regal robes, with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he proceeded alone to the camp of his enemies, who were formed in order of battle. As he approached, he cried with a voice:

"I am your King! Which of you dares to raise a traitor's hand against his sovereign?"

The men-at-arms stood aside as he passed, and thus the King proceeded to his brother's tent, whom he arrested in the midst of his troops. He brought him to his own camp, imprisoned him in a fortified castle, and sent Gertrude, Andreas' ambitious wife, to his friends in Meran. A short time afterwards, King Emrich was taken dangerously ill. He felt his end approaching, and he desired to leave his crown to the child Ladislas. He thought of gaining Andreas by generosity. He liberated him, and made him the guardian of Ladislas. Emrich died in 1204. He was scarcely dead, when Andreas seized the royal

treasury, and excluded the Queen Dowager, Constantia, from all influence in state affairs. It was clear, without the possibility of a doubt, that he thought of making away with his ward. Constantia and her child fled to Austria. But the child's death saved Hungary from a civil war, and in 1205 Andreas ascended the throne as legitimate King of his country.

The history of the reign of Andreas II. is of the greatest importance for Hungary. This King was weak, extravagant, and ambitious of extending his influence to foreign countries. He wished to gain a throne for his second son, Koloman, and for that purpose he made several wars, by which he at length gained Gallicia in 1215. But as the financial and military establishments of Hungary were intended only for defensive, but not for aggressive wars, the King was obliged to resort to extraordinary means to pay the expences of his invasions of foreign countries. He deteriorated the coin of the realm, without, however, effecting the object he desired, beyond disarranging and unsettling the commercial relations of the country. High prices and fares paid in bad coin were the result of this measure. In the second instance, he sold, mortgaged, and did away with the castle-domains, whose resources had hitherto served to pay the garrisons of the castles; and when the income of the State grew gradually less under his hands, he fell back upon the crown-land, without once considering that these measures were calculated to undermine the military establishment and the finances of the country. The natural consequence of these proceedings was, that the influence of the aristocracy, who profited by the sale of the Castle lands, increased at the same ratio, as that of the

Court declined, until the King wanted the power to prevent the oppression of the lower nobility and the people at large by a mighty oligarchy, which opposed the Crown in every one of its measures. For the purpose of fortifying his throne, the King surrounded himself with foreign favourites, who were chiefly relations of his wife, who was daughter to the Duke of Mezan. He treated the native aristocracy with neglect, and thus he increased the ardour of their opposition. At length, he had no resource left to prevent an insurrection, but to appeal to the assistance of foreigners. He applied to the Pope, who easily seized this opportunity to extend his power, and who, in the first instance excommunicated all those who dared to oppose the King; but soon afterwards the Pope thought proper to threaten the King with an interdict if he would continue to oppress his people; for when the financial difficulties increased every day, Andreas had no resource, but in farming out the income of the State to the few, and to Mahometan Ismaelites, who drained the country, and who pressed its inhabitants to become converts to their religion.

Public indignation turned chiefly against Queen Gertrude, who was fond of interfering in State affairs, and against her brothers, Berthold and Eckbert, who, in spite of their ignorance, and the dissoluteness of their lives, were promoted to the highest dignities, while they did all in their power to scandalise and insult the moral feelings of the Hungarian people. So early as the year 1209, a conspiracy against the life of the Queen had been discovered, and the conspirators were punished; but five years later, she was effectually assassinated by the Palatine, Bankban, and his friends.

Bankban committed this deed for the purpose of avenging the honour of his house, which had been violated by Eckbert, the Queen's brother.* Andreas punished the murderers, but he could not allay the prevailing discontent; and in order to conciliate at least the favour of the Pope, and avail himself of his spiritual weapons, he made in 1217 a Crusade to Palestine. But to defray the expense of this foolish expedition, he seized the treasures of the Church, and even the private property of Constantia, the widow of King Emrich, and the wife of the German Emperor, Frederick, who of course became his enemy in return.

The expedition of King Andreas was more of a pilgrimage than a crusade. He visited Jerusalem and Genazareth, and after having attacked in vain the Seljuk Turks on mount Tabor, he returned, and found his empire in full dissolution. His son, Koloman, had been expelled from Galicia. The discontent of the Hungarians had reached its height. The people were grievously oppressed. The Magnates were exacting and overbearing. His treasury was empty, for the revenue officers had embezzled the monies under

* The conspirators informed the Archbishop of Gran of their resolution, asking his advice, which he gave in writing, to the following purpose, and perfectly ambiguous:

"Reginam occidere nolite timere bonum est, si omnes consenserint ego non contradico," for it might be read, "Reginam occidere nolite timere; bonum est. Si omnes consenserint, ego non contradico." But the sentence admitted of another reading, viz: "Reginam occidere nolite; timere bonum est. Si omnes consenserint, ego non, contradico.

their care, and crossed the frontier. Still the lessons of adversity were lost upon the King, who drained the last resources of the country for an expedition to Galicia, for the purpose of reconquering that country for his son. His army was defeated in 1219, and Koloman himself fell into hopeless captivity.

This state of things could not possibly last. Bela, the King's eldest son and successor, was called upon to make a radical reform. He convoked the oppressed low nobility, the *Franklins* of Hungary, and the garrisons of the castles; and backed by so formidable a force he demanded the restoration of the old Constitution, and the reform of the financial measures. His demands were of course opposed by the high aristocracy, who rallied round the King, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when in 1222, the whole clergy of Hungary, obedient to the Pope's commands, joined the Reform party, and negotiated a Peace, the conditions of which, known by the name of the *Golden Bull* (bulla aurea), came to be the most important document of Hungarian liberty. That bill does not indeed contain any new rights for the people, but in it the King acknowledged and confirmed the people's old and hereditary rights, which, though long established, had always been open to the attacks of the Kings. The following are the chief clauses of this important document:

"All the rights and liberties of the nobility and the garrisons (of castles), were again confirmed. None of them was to be attacked in his person or property, without a legal summons, examination, and verdict; they are not to be taxed, and he is subject to no one but the King. Their petty differences are to be decided

in county-courts; cases of greater importance are to be reserved to the annual sessions, to be held on the 20th of August on St. Stephen's day, at Stuhlweissenburg, where they are to be heard by the King and the Palatine, with the co-operation and assistance of the nobility. When the country is attacked, they are obliged to do military service, but they cannot be compelled to serve in an offensive war, and on any other than Hungarian territory; and if they consent to follow the King across the frontier, the expense of the expedition is to be borne by the King. Finally, they are entitled to dispose of their property by will or otherwise, according to their inclination.

"The fiscal domains which the King had alienated, and which were in the hands of the aristocracy, were to be restored, and for the future it was illegal to devote them to any other purpose, than to the defraying of the public expenditure. It was declared illegal to farm the income of the States to Jews and Ishmaelites; foreigners were to be excluded from holding office or land in Hungary, unless they had first obtained letters of naturalization from the Privy Council. The Magnates of the Empire, and indeed the King with them, were forbidden to oppress the low nobility by visiting them with their followers. The currency and the jurisdiction of courts were regulated, and it was provided that no man should hold two offices at once, with the exception of the Ban of Croatia, the Palatine, and the Lord Chief Justice (Judex Curiæ)."

The conclusion of the *Golden Bull* contains a clause, which is famous in Hungarian History, and in which it is enacted, that "if the King or his descendants should despise the laws of the country, that then the Magnates

and free-men should be entitled to resist the authority of such a King, without thereby incurring the penalties of high treason."

The carrying of this bill was a matter of great labour. Bela was commissioned to confiscate the alienated state-property, but he met with an obstinate resistance from the high aristocracy, who went to the length of offering the Kingdom to the German Emperor Frederick, while King Andreas wanted the energy to punish them. He preferred half measures to a bold and determined conduct, and thus he prolonged the crisis. At length he was compelled again to confirm the *Golden Bull* at the Diet of 1231, and on this occasion to extend the jurisdiction of the clergy, and to add the clause that the Archbishop of Gran should be privileged to excommunicate any King who violated the laws. But in spite of all their clauses and threats, Andreas remained weak, sullen, and refractory, and died in 1235.

Bela, the fourth of that name, who as heir apparent had taken the lead of the Reform movement, remained faithful to his principles when he ascended the throne. He broke the power of the Magnates, and protected the great men of the nation against aristocratical encroachments upon their rights, while the Magnates exerted the last remnants of their legal power to undermine the King's authority. It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to Bela, that Kuthen, King of the Kumans, immigrated into Hungary with forty thousand of his people (1239), and subjected himself and his followers to Bela's authority: for that Prince hoped to find a new source of strength in the sudden arrival of this kindred nation. The Mongols who broke loose

from the East, under the guidance of Batu Chan, had expelled the Kumans from their settlements. These people, though they became willing converts to Christianism, were far less civilized than the Hungarians. They had no clear ideas about landed property, and hence they were in perpetual conflict with the Hungarians. This state of things engendered suspicion and ill-feeling, and was finally attended with very serious consequences. In 1241, the Mongols assembled an army of 500,000 men, and threatened to invade Europe. Bela invoked the assistance of the Duke of Austria, Frederick of Babenberg, and he even promised to recognize the German Emperor Frederick as his feudal lord, if that potentate would oppose the Mongols with the whole of his power. But the German Emperor refused to assist Bela, and the Duke of Austria who came to the rescue, was accompanied by a few knights only. He was prepared to act as a spectator, but not as an ally. Both the German Emperor and the Austrian Duke had no objection to see Hungary humiliated and maimed, for they anticipated that it would afterwards be an easy prey. The Hungarian Magnates too, were very slack in preparing for the defence: they protested, that since the King had restored the old Constitution of the country, which was asserted to be sufficient for any defensive war, they saw no reason why they should put themselves to any extraordinary expense to succour him. The consequences might have been foreseen. The Mongols defeated the Palatine's troops in the Carpathian defiles, and their outposts advanced to the vicinity of Pest, where the Duke of Austria, instead of leading the Hungarians to battle, was busy in inflaming them against the Kumans whom

he represented as allies and spies of the Mongols: and heading a furious mob of fanatics, he attacked and wounded Prince Kuthen. Upon this, part of the Kumans fled from the country, part of them surrendered to the Mongols, and only a few of them remained with the Hungarians. At length King Bela assembled his troops, and advanced against the invaders, who retreated to the river Theiss, when a decisive battle was fought at Mohi. The Hungarians were defeated, and the Mongols had the country in their power. Koloman, the King's brother, died from his wounds; and the King sought refuge in the first instance with Frederick of Austria, who instead of offering him hospitality, arrested him, and only released him under the condition of his resigning the border counties of Hungary.

After his escape from the hands of the Austrians, King Bela fled into Croatia, and at length, being still pursued by the Mongols, he sought refuge on the Dalmatian island of Veglia. The Mongols devastated Hungary during one year and a half; they burned and sacked villages and cities, and slaughtered their inhabitants; but when the news came to them, that Oktai, the Great Chan of the Golden Tribe was dead, Batu and his followers left the country, and returned to Asia to vindicate Batu's rights to the succession.

King Bela returned in 1242. Hungary was a desert; a *tabula rasa*. The King was called upon to found a new Empire. He rebuilt the cities, and gave them ample privileges, and the most perfect self-government, to increase their population. He renewed the title-deeds of the landed proprietors, but in doing this he changed the *allods* into feudal holdings; he encouraged

the construction of mountain-fastnesses, and transplanted the Kumans from Bulgaria whither they had fled, to the plains between the Theiss and the Danube. In four years the country had so far recovered, that Bela was enabled to make an expedition of revenge against Frederick of Austria, for the purpose of recovering the three counties, which that Prince had forced him to resign. Fortune favoured at first the arms of the Austrian Prince; but in the battle of Wiener-Neustadt, he fell pierced by the arrow of the Count Frangepani, a friend of King Bela, the same who had hospitably received him in Veglia.

In 1262, Hungary was again threatened by the Mongols; but in this instance, they found the King well armed, and prepared. Nogai Chan, their leader, was driven back over the Carpathian mountains, with a loss of fifty thousand men.

The last years of Bela's reign were the most trying for him. His son Stephen, an ambitious and energetic youth, fomented an insurrection against his father; a prolonged contest with a variety of unsuccessful skirmishes and fruitless reconciliations, again undermined the royal authority. The Magnates of the Empire profited by the King's embarrassments, and struggled to regain their ancient power; the administration of justice was disorganized, and the progress of the country impeded. Bela died in 1220, in sullen despair of ever attaining the object he had struggled for. He was an able King, though severely tried by misfortune.

Stephen V. reigned only two years. His early death prevented him from displaying his undoubted energy, and exerting it for the benefit of his country.

Ladislas IV. was a child of ten years when he succeeded to the throne of his father Stephen. The contest between Ottokar of Bohemia and Rudolph of Hapsburg, broke out during his minority. The Hungarians took the part of the Hapsburgs, and assisted them effectually in this war, and particularly in the decisive battle of Marchegg, which first established the power of the House of Hapsburg. When Ladislas grew up, his hot temper was unable to resist the charms of the Kuman and Tartar women, with whom he lived under tents. The civilization of Hungary declined, as the King himself set an example of a vagrant nomade life. An insurrection broke out, but the King, a second Alcibiades, rose from the haunts of pleasure and defeated the insurgents, as well as at a later period his favourites the Kumans, when they became exacting and overbearing. At length he fell in 1290, under the murderous strokes of three Kuman bandits, who had been hired by Edua, a beautiful Kuman girl, whom the fickle King had abandoned, to rove in quest of fresh beauties.

After Ladislas's death, there was but one male descendant of the House of Arpad left, viz. Andreas III. called *Venetus*. He was a grand-son of Andreas II. and a son of Catharina Morosini, a native of Venice. But as he was without male issue, a war of succession broke out while he was still alive. The Emperor Rudolph claimed the country for his son Albrecht, pretending it was a fief of the German Empire. The Pope too claimed the right of disposing of the sovereignty. He invested Charles Martell of Anjou with the crown of Hungary; while some of the Hungarian Magnates, such as the Count of Güssingen, the ancestor of the

Batthyanyis, on the frontiers of Austria, the Count of Breber in Croatia, the ancestors of the Zrinyis, Matthew of Trencsin in Upper Hungary, and the Apors in Transylvania, endeavoured to profit by the general dissolution, and to establish their independence. They all attempted to monopolize the power in their respective districts. Andreas had great trouble to preserve the unity of the Kingdom, and to oppose the general and prevailing confusion. He died of poison in the year 1301, and with him the family of Arpad became extinct on the throne of Hungary.

Second Period.

HUNGARY UNDER KINGS FROM DIFFERENT HOUSES (ANJOU, LUXEMBOURG, AUSTRIA, HUNYADY, JAGHELLO.)

With the extinction of the Arpadian House, the relations of Hungary to the rest of Europe were substantially changed. Under national kings the interests of the country and those of the royal family had been the same, and consequently, in this period, the firm foundations of the Hungarian State had been laid. The wars of this period had been of a mere defensive character against neighbours, who had attacked the new kingdom in order to subdue it, or bloody border conflicts of common frequency in those days throughout all Europe, or civil wars of succession, but none of any influence on the general politics of Europe.

The position, on the contrary, that the Hungarians held during the second period of their history under princes, whose family interests reached far beyond the limits of Hungary, partook much more of European significance, though it will never rivet the attention of

the philosopher so much, as the gradual civilization of Hungary and the growth of her free constitution in the first period. The European ideas of the Middle Ages, were of course imported into the country with its foreign rulers. The feudal laws and feudal government, the traces of which, till now, had been scarcely visible in Hungary, throve vigorously under the Neapolitan Anjous; the brilliant tournaments became fashionable about this time, and lent to the social circle of the nobles a more Western colouring. Guilds, corporations and commercial monopolies exerted a great influence on the Middle Classes in the towns. The nation became more warlike than ever, and the military glory of Hungary was spread over all Europe, until this period of the Hungarian history,—the richest in heroic achievements and romantic events,—came to a tragic close by the catastrophe of the battle of Mohacs.

The ablest and most powerful pretender to the crown of Hungary, after the death of Andreas the Third, was Charles Robert of Anjou, a grandson of the King of Naples and of the daughter of Bela the Fourth. The Hungarians, however, resisted his claims, because he was to take the Crown from the hands of the Pope and to recognize him as his liege lord. They elected Wenceslaus of Bohemia and then Otto of Bavaria, both of them descendants of the female lineage of Arpad, their kings, but none of them was able to maintain his ground against the oligarchical rulers of the country. The riots and disputes, arising from these causes, lasted till 1309, when Charles Robert was at length elected, and crowned King of Hungary by the Diet, but with a solemn declaration on their

part, that he owed the Crown to their free choice exclusively. Upper Hungary, however, still obeyed the sway of Count Matthæus of Trencsin, who usurped royal power with the pretence of defending the claims of Elizabeth, the daughter of Andreas the Third, to the throne,—and who, though defeated in the same year, near Kaschau, in the valley of Rozgony, by the troops of Charles Robert, and chiefly by the valour of the Germans from Zips, and of their Count, an ancestor of the Goergeys,—never submitted to the King and reigned unmolested in the North-west of Hungary, till his death (1318). Though the struggle, that Charles Robert was compelled to carry on for the Crown, was not without success, yet his defeat in an unjust war, undertaken against his vassal Bazarad, the Prince of Wallachia, was the more humiliating (1330). He saved his life with difficulty, and Bazarad became for some time independent of Hungary. The King was not of a pre-eminently warlike disposition, and strove to found the greatness of his country by the arts of peace. Notwithstanding the restoration of the military system under Andreas and Bela, it was no longer that of the ancient times, and Charles Robert considered the royal castles with their hereditary garrisons, as thoroughly insufficient. He preferred, therefore, to introduce the feudal system into Hungary, in consequence of which, the great landed proprietors went to war with their banners (banderia), and enjoyed the royal protection. In order to restore the balance of the finances, that could not be any longer kept up by the legal revenues from the national domains and royal castles, a tax was raised by Charles Robert,—but according to the feudal system only from those

who were no nobles, and eighteen denars were allotted to every peasant. The growth and prosperity of towns was favoured by liberal privileges,—commerce and well-being returned with peace and rendered the coinage of gold a necessity. The commercial transactions under the Arpads had been so petty, that small silver coins were more than sufficient, and where commerce rendered, in rare cases, greater sums necessary, the foreign Byzantine gold florins were used.

Charles Robert was the first Hungarian King, under whose reign gold was coined. He raised in the same time the metallic standard of silver coins, and exchanged for the benefit of commerce the old silver money for gold coins of full weight. He did not like Diets and only once convoked the States of the realm to get the ratification of the barbarous penalties, by which he intended to exterminate the Zachs, because Felician, the chief of that family, had taken his revenge for the violation of his daughter Clara, on the Queen, whose hand he maimed,—Casimir, the debaucher, being her brother.

The King liked to meddle with foreign affairs. He extended his influence far beyond the limits of the kingdom, and set an example, very rare in those times, of the possibility to avoid war by arbitration. The Duke of Silesia had died without children in the year 1335. Casimir, King of Poland, and John, King of Bohemia, both claimed this rich province, which lay between them. Charles Robert, the ally of both, exerted all his efforts to prevent them from going to war, and at length invited them, along with their next neighbours, the Duke of Moravia and the Knights of the Teutonic order, the rulers of Prussia in those times,

to Visegrad. He entertained them during eighteen days with royal munificence; the guests swallowed, according to the tales of the chroniclers, 4,000 loaves of bread and 18,000 bottles of wine a day, and in this way a peace between the contending parties was concluded, to the most complete satisfaction of both. The Bohemian got Silesia by renouncing, on the other hand, some of his Polish territories, and Charles Robert guaranteed the treaty. Respected abroad, more feared than loved at home in spite of his merits, because he never became a downright Hungarian, Charles Robert died in the year 1342, after a long reign, under which the country had attained a considerable degree of prosperity.

His son, Louis the Great, was seventeen years of age when he was crowned, amidst the thundering cheers of the Hungarians, six days after the interment of his father. Of Hungarian education,—beautiful, chivalrous, and endowed with extraordinary talents, he was the favourite of the Hungarian nobility. His military exploits gained him the surname of the Great,—he extended the limits of Hungary to three seas,—he was a great statesman, but his policy was more of a foreign than of a domestic character, for the aim of his policy was the extension and lustre of his country and not its liberty.

His first war was adventurous. He proceeded to Naples to revenge the murder of his brother. King Robert of Naples, had died there without male issue, (1343). The Crown belonged to the Hungarian branch of the Anjous, and in order to prevent any possible dispute, Charles Robert had concluded a treaty with his uncle Robert, in virtue of which, Andreas,

the second son of Charles Robert, was to marry Jane, Robert's grand-daughter, and share with her the royal dignity of Naples. But the profligate Neapolita princess despised her weak husband, Andreas, who was no more than sixteen years old, and she would by no means recognize him as King of Naples, but only as Prince of Salerno. She ordered him at length to be strangled with a silken cord, by her cousins, the Princes of Tarento and Durazzo in Aversa. No sooner had King Louis received these tidings than he applied to the Pope, Clement the VIth., and demanded from him as liege lord of Naples, the deposition of Jane, the murderess of her husband. The Pope hesitated, but the King conducted an Hungarian army, under a black banner, throughout Italy. Naples surrendered, and Jane fled to Avignon, which was an inheritance of her family, with Louis of Tarento, whom she had married. Charles of Durazzo was the only murderer of the unhappy Andreas, who fell into the hands of the King: he was executed in the same room in which Andreas had been strangled.

Louis now took the title of King of both Sicilies, and, after having left in Naples, a Hungarian garrison, and Stephen Laczkovics, as viceroy, returned to Hungary, without ceasing to urge the Pope to pronounce a verdict on Jane. As the tidings reached her that King Louis had left Naples, she sold her rights over Avignon to the Pope, and returned to Naples, where the small garrison of the Hungarians was pressed very hard by an insurrection. Louis was therefore compelled to proceed, 1350, a second time to Naples. He took Canossa, Salerno, and Aversa, by storm, and conquered the country again. Yet he was soon convinced

that the Neapolitans would never willingly bear the yoke of foreigners. In the meantime, Pope Clement had pronounced the sentence, that Jane had been bewitched into the murder of Andreas, and should consequently keep the realm, and only indemnify Louis by three hundred thousand gold florins for the expenses of the war; Louis left Naples and forgave the beautiful sinner the expiatory sum.

This was the result of the adventurous war of the Hungarians in Naples. Its immediate consequences to Hungary were, that the King allotted for ever, to the nobility in the Diet, of 1351, the ninth part of the whole agricultural produce of the peasantry, as an indemnification for the sacrifices of the nobles in that war. This is the origin of the *Ninth*, a tax greatly injurious to industry, and abolished only so late as the year 1848. Also Feudalism was legally introduced n the above-mentioned Diet. The free disposal of landed property was taken away from the proprietor; the family was declared sole proprietor and the individual became only usufructuary. Thus landed property was fettered and immobilized, but feudalism could not be carried so far as to exclude female succession; first, because the King had no sons, and willed the crown to fall on a daughter; next, the Hungarians were accustomed to female succession; the daughter could therefore by no means be excluded from the heirship of the land.

By the introduction of feudalism, the castle system of baronies ceased to form the basis of the Hungarian military system; therefore the garrison of the castle, which besides belonged to the freemen, were ennobled by the King. As they had but small landed property,

they became the ancestors of the later peasant nobles (*Nobiles unius Sessionis*).

Louis waged many wars during his reign of forty years, and distinguished himself by his generosity, as well as by his bravery. He vanquished in single combat Keystutt, Prince of Lithuania, who had invaded Galicia during the Neapolitan war. After having disarmed his enemy, the King released him, under the condition, that he would accept the Christian faith. The heathen prince pledged himself to do it, but it was only his son who redeemed his word. In the war against the Venetian Republic, Louis beleaguered Treviso in Friaul. During the siege, the Doge Gradenigo died, and Delfino, the commander of the fortress, was elected in his stead. The Venetians requested a free retreat for their new Duke; Louis granted the request, and Delfino proved his gratitude by the immediate conclusion of a peace with the chivalrous King. The Hungarians got by the treaty the coast of Dalmatia, whilst the supremacy of the Republic over the Dalmatian isle was recognized by Hungary, and commercial privileges were ensured to the Venetian merchants. In the East, King Louis forced Bazarad, the Prince of Wallachia, to acknowledge again the superiority of Hungary. After the death of Kasimir, King of Poland, who was the uncle of Louis by the mother's side; he was called to the throne by the Poles, and crowned at Cracow (1370). The affairs of Hungary forbade him to remain long in Poland; he therefore appointed his mother Elizabeth, sister of the late King Casimir, Regent of the country, and returned himself to Visegrad. But the great task of his life was less the aggrandizement of his realm, than the propagation

of the Romish creed amongst his subjects. He not only converted the heathen Kumans, but likewise succeeded in persuading the Ruthenians of the oriental creed, who at this period had settled in Hungary, to submit to the authority of the Pope. His endeavours in the same direction proved fruitless with the Wallachs in Hungary and Transylvania. It was in vain that he removed their oriental clergymen, and replaced them by Catholic priests from Dalmatia; the Wallachs steadily kept to their creed. At last, many of them could no longer bear their oppression, and emigrated to Moldavia. But the King pursued them even to their new country; here too they could not escape his sway, yet he protected them against external enemies, and defeated the Krimean Tartars between the Bug and the Dnieper, when they extended their plundering incursion as far as into Moldavia. Altomos, the Tartar Prince, was killed by the King in single combat, and his son was compelled to adopt Christianity. Louis died in 1392; his death prevented the execution of his great design to unite firmly the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary; thus to create a powerful realm, which, in the east of Europe, would occupy the same position which France had obtained in the West, and would take the lead of Christianity and civilization in the East. But the misgovernment of Elizabeth made in Poland every regency unpopular. The Poles claimed a king for themselves. The beautiful Hedviga daughter of King Louis, became Queen of Poland, and yielding to political reasons, she married Uladislas Jaghello, Prince of Lithuania, who, after having been baptized, united his own duchy to the kingdom of his wife.

In Hungary, Maria, the elder daughter of the great Louis, was crowned queen; her royal consort, Sigismund, of Luxemburg, subsequently Emperor of Germany, and King of Bohemia, received the title of "Guardian of the Realm." It was now, for the first time, that a woman wore the sacred crown of St. Stephen. But to the woe of the country, neither she, nor her mother Elizabeth, who greatly influenced her, was adequate to her important duties. Uladislas Jaghello took possession of Galicia; Dalmatia and Croatia revolted against the Queens and the Ban Horváthy, Palisna the Prior of Vrána, and Laczkovics, the valiant companion of King Louis in his Neapolitan campaign, invited the King of Naples, Charles Martell, "the Little" to the throne of Hungary, as he was the next male to King Louis. War seemed to be unavoidable; but Sigismund, the "Guardian of the realm" found no other means to fill the empty Treasury than to pawn the country between the Vág and the Danube, to his cousins Iodoc and Procop of Moravia. By this measure he estranged the feelings of the Hungarians to the Queen. When, therefore, Charles Martell landed in Dalmatia (1385), he was received enthusiastically, and advanced to Buda without meeting with any resistance. The Queens submitted; they went to greet him, he treated them as their protector, and as the chief of the family. His party proclaimed him King, and he summoned Maria to resign the crown, too heavy for a woman. When she had complied to this demand, he assembled a Diet at Fejérvár on the last day of the year, for his coronation. Charles required the Queens to be present at this solemnity; they appeared, but in mourning ap-

parel. Notwithstanding all the respect with which Charles distinguished them, they seemed prisoners; whilst he was crowned at the altar, they sobbed and prostrated themselves on the gravestone of King Louis: compassion for the unprotected Princesses won many a heart for Maria, yet her mother, Elizabeth, did not wait for the natural development of this sympathy, but preferred violent means. The Queens, after their return to Buda, invited the newly-crowned King, to a confidential interview in the castle. During the conference, Blasius Forgács struck down the King with his sword, in the presence of Maria, by the order of Elizabeth, in compliance with the advice of Palatine Gara, the devoted champion of the Queen. The Italian garrison of Buda, small in number, was taken by surprise and easily dispersed. Hungary again acknowledged Maria as legal Sovereign, whilst in Croatia, the Neapolitan party strongly pronounced itself against her. The Queen Dowager believed, that compassion would here likewise act as strongly as in Hungary in favour of the beautiful daughter of King Louis. She therefore went with Maria to Croatia, accompanied only by a small body of troops under the command of Gara and Forgács. But the Croats proved inaccessible to romantic sentimentality. The Ban Horváthy attacked the Hungarian guards at Diakovár, and defeated them; Gara and Forgács were, in spite of their heroic resistance, dragged from their horses, and beheaded under the very eyes of the Queens, who were plundered of their royal jewels, and imprisoned in the Dalmatian Castle of Novigrod. Palisna intended to deliver them up to the Queen of Naples, the dowager of the murdered Charles Martell, who was to send her

son Ladislas to Hungary as heir to the crown. Venice prevented the execution of this plan; the Republic respected the treaty with King Louis, blockaded the coasts and beleaguered Palisna in his fortress of Novigrod; in spite of this, the Prior strangled the Queen Dowager.

Whilst Croatia was wholly subjected to the Neapolitan party, the Hungarians too became averse to submit any longer to the sceptre of a frail woman. Sigismund availed himself of this disposition; he assembled a Diet in 1387, and had himself elected King. His first measure was, of course, the deliverance of the Queen. His General Gara, the brother of the murdered Palatine, defeated the troops of Horváthy, and compelled him to a treaty, in consequence of which Maria was set free. But danger had not yet subsided for Sigismund. Croatia and Bosnia, which since the reign of Louis had recognized the supremacy of Hungary, still remained in a state of rebellion, and opposed the Neapolitan Prince Ladislas to King Sigismund. Jaghello, the brother-in-law of the King, claimed at the same time the suzerainty of Moldavia and Wallachia for the Poles, after he had previously occupied Galicia. The greatest danger threatened from the south; the power of the Turks daily increased, and awakened the apprehensions of all Europe. Sigismund, therefore, marched against the Sultan in 1395: before Nicopolis, the tidings of the death of Queen Maria reached him. He returned speedily to take the reins of the Government by his own right. His first measure was a breach of faith. By promises of amnesty he allured to Buda thirty-two distinguished adherents of the Neapolitan party,

amongst whom the brave Kont was the most highly esteemed. Regardless of his pledge, and of the law, he had them executed without trial. Meanwhile numerous knights arrived with their vassals from Germany and from France, to shield the endangered East of Europe against the hosts of Bajazed. Sigismund led them with a considerable Hungarian army against the enemy in 1396. All were convinced that the Turks could not resist, and Sigismund exclaimed at the review of his troops: "If the firmament wavers, the lances of this army will support it." This wantonness was terribly punished at Nicopolis. The Christian warriors were routed by Bajazed, and almost entirely destroyed. Sigismund himself scarcely escaped to the Danube, from whence he returned to Hungary by the sea, Constantinople, and Dalmatia. The adherents of the Neapolitan Ladislas got new strength; Sigismund began to negotiate with them. He invited Laczkovics, the chief of this party, to the Diet at Körös (Crisium, Kreutz), and as the old hero, relying on the royal word, trustfully complied with the summons, he was taken prisoner, and executed without trial. When Sigismund had in this manner got rid of one of his most dangerous enemies, he deemed himself secure, and indulged in his favourite manœuvres of diplomacy.

Without consulting the Hungarian Diet, he concluded treaties with his brother Wenceslas, Emperor of Germany and King of Bohemia, and with his cousins the Princes of Moravia, in which they stipulated amongst themselves mutual succession in Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia, for the survivor. The Hungarian Magnates soon got tired of these intrigues; they took the

King by surprise in his royal palace, and imprisoned him in the castle of Siklós. They released him, however, after eighteen weeks, on his oath that in future he would abstain from all arbitrary acts, and never would avenge his imprisonment. In this instance he kept his word, quite contrary to his custom.

Sigismund's reign was the longest recorded in the Hungarian annals; he ruled for fully half a century. During this time, he became King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany, travelled much about, and intermixed with all European complications; but he neglected in many respects the interests of Hungary. Always ready to mediate peace, he took part in every contest of middle Europe, and by his very interference gave occasion for wars, in which he became involved against his intention. The most important of these struggles was no doubt the war against the Hussites. Sigismund wanted, in the Council of Constance, to re-establish the Peace of the Church, and had there burnt at the stake, as a heretic, John Huss, one of the Professors at Prague, regardless of the imperial safe-conduct which he had granted to the great Reformer. But the sparks of this pile set all Bohemia on fire, and spread over a great part of Germany and the north-west of Hungary, as the adherents of Huss carried on a bloody war, which raged for many years in these countries. In Hungary, Sigismund still was unable to subdue the Neapolitan party, when he had at the same time to resist Venice and the Sultan, who threatened Servia. Lazarevics, the venerable Prince of Servia, recognized the King of Hungary as his liege, in order to escape the Turkish yoke. The aid of Hungary proved efficient to him, as John Hunyady—whose name we here meet for

the first time—defeated the Turks at Belgrade, in 1437.

Sigismund wanted much money, no less for his diplomatic journeys, than to provide for his wars. Prodigality was the prominent feature of his character. The Roman Ambassador, Æneas Sylvius, tells us that the King once, late in the evening, saw at the revisal of the accounts that the Treasury had a surplus of forty thousand gold florins. This disturbed his sleep, he was accustomed to see his Treasury empty, and therefore assembled his courtiers, and dispensed amongst them his riches, to rest without care as to the disposal of this money. Under such circumstances the royal authority could not fail to be injured; the Dignitaries of the realm no longer heeded the desires of their Sovereign. To counterbalance the influence of the Magnates the King granted greater privileges to the towns, and gave them representatives in the Diet, from which they had been excluded until now, as guests (Hospites) not submitted to the Hungarian Common-law, but ruled according to their charters by their own German or Italian customs. Sigismund also supported the counties in the extension of their municipal rights; the County-Congregations became under him of greater importance. To have the towns more speedily peopled, right of free migration was guaranteed anew to the peasantry, who, as the laws of this time evince, were then no serfs. To give more weight to the counties, a second army was formed, besides the troops of the Magnates. This army fought under the banners of the counties, every thirty-three peasant-sessions being bound to furnish one soldier (Insurrectio portalis). As the old castle system of baronies had now entirely vanished, the garrisons

were finally all ennobled. No doubt these were wise measures, but the inconsistent and prodigal King had neither the strength nor the steadiness to carry on his excellent designs, and to render them efficient for the welfare of his country. He was perpetually in financial difficulties; though he pawned the towns of Zips to Poland, this momentary aid was of no real avail. If he had no money to lavish, he distributed patents of nobility, not bound to any special property, which therefore by no means answered to the notions of the Hungarians.

Sigismund left no male heir. His only daughter, Elizabeth, was married to the Arch-Duke of Austria, Albert. He was elected King of Hungary in 1437. But, as the nation had experienced many difficulties arising from the different interests of Sigismund, who had not only been King of Hungary, but likewise of Bohemia, and Emperor of Germany, they restrained the power of their new sovereign. Albert was obliged to promise not to dispose of his daughter's hand without the consent of the Hungarian Diet, and not to accept the Imperial Crown, if offered to him, without the permission of the States of Hungary. Soon afterwards Albert was elected Emperor, and marched against Sultan Murad, who attacked Servia; but the expedition of the King was an unfortunate one, the Hungarians were beaten, and decimated by ravaging sickness, were forced to retire. Albert died on his retreat, 1437, at Neszmely.

His son, Ladislas, was born after his father's death. Elizabeth, the Queen Dowager, was anxious to secure the crown for the Infant. But the Hungarians required a stronger hand to govern them; they disliked a

Regency, and therefore elected King Uladislas, of Poland, the great-grandson of the illustrious Louis. Elizabeth fled with the royal child, and the crown of St. Stephen, to Vienna, entreating the protection of her brother-in-law, Frederic III., who held sway over the Austrian provinces in the name of the babe Ladislas. Bohemia was ruled for the same infant, by the Calixtine George Podiebrad. In Hungary, Elizabeth attempted to claim the rights of her son; her general, Giskra of Brandeis, invaded the upper parts of the country; but the Pope at last mediated a peace (1432). Uladislas was, by all parties, acknowledged King, that Hungary might avail itself of its full strength against the Turks. John Hunyady, the Hungarian chief, had already beaten the Turks at Szent Imre, in 1441, after they had broken into Transylvania, and had destroyed, at the "Iron Gate," a second host of the Grand-Vizir, who had been sent to avenge the defeat of Szent Imre. Every one now trusted that the power of the Turks was to be crushed. Hunyady marched, in 1440, with 40,000 men against them; he routed, in five months, five armies successively sent to oppose him, took five fortresses, and, having secured the Principalities of the Danube, he triumphantly returned to Buda. The Sultan himself proposed a treaty, in consequence of which, he acknowledged Prince Brankovics, Sovereign of Servia, and recognized the supremacy of Hungary over all the Danubian Principalities. The Hungarian Diet accepted these propositions, the Armistice was stipulated for ten years, Uladislas and Murat enforced it by their oaths. When, however, the tidings spread, that an insurrection in Asia Minor had compelled Murat to leave Europe, that

George Castriotta (Skanderbeg), King of Epirus, was ready to attack the Turks with 30,000 men, and that the fleet of Genoa was blockading the Hellespont and the Black Sea, the Cardinal Julian Cesarini called upon the King of Hungary to take up arms and drive the Turks from Europe. The Cardinal asserted that this great aim sanctified the breach of the oath, from which, besides, he gave him solemn dispensation in the name of the Pope. Uladislas could not resist the eloquence of the Cardinal, in spite of Hunyady's solicitations to the contrary. Relying in the words and promises of Julian, the King, in 1444, crossed the Danube, with no more than 20,000 men. Expecting the aid of the Epirotes, he proceeded over the Balkan, to Varna, and advanced to Gallipolis. But Brankovics, the Prince whom Hunyady had re-established in Servia, now was desirous to have his sway secured by the Turks, and therefore gave early notice to the Sultan of all the movements of Uladislas. The Genoese, bribed by Murat, who had succeeded in quenching the revolt in his Asiatic dominions, transported on their fleet the Turkish army, which suddenly appeared in sight of the Hungarians. Murat carried before his host, as standard, the original document of the violated treaty, thus to excite his warriors. At Varna the armies met; Hunyady's bravery had already driven the Turks to flight, when the King, with youthful impetuosity, began to pursue the enemy, and saw himself surrounded unawares; he fell. The Turks hoisted his head on a lance, the fleeing troops rallied, the Hungarians, horror-stricken at the death of their King, were routed. Cardinal Julian was killed, Hunyady escaped to Wallachia, where Drakul, the Voivoda of the Wallachs,

took him prisoner, probably with the aim to get a considerable ransom either from the foes or from the friends of the hero. Yet, notwithstanding the last defeat of the Hungarians, still afraid of them, he set Hunyady at liberty without delay, when summoned to it.

Under such dangerous circumstances the Palatine Hedervary convoked the Diet in 1445. All parties met, and the majority resolved, that if King Uladislas really was dead, of which many still doubted, Ladislas Posthumus, who already as infant had been crowned—was to be recognized King. The country meanwhile was divided into seven districts, to which seven captains were appointed for administration and defence. Hunyady of course received the district most threatened at the time,—Transylvania and the lower part of the Tisza. A deputation then was sent to Vienna, to bring the young King and the crown; but the Emperor Frederick, the uncle of Ladislas, wishing to extort money from the Hungarians, required payment for the education of his nephew and ransom for the crown. Ulrich, Count of Cilly, grand-uncle to the King, by the last mother's side, was ambitious to become Regent, and therefore tried to excite dissensions between Hunyady and the other great men of the realm. His intrigues failed; Hunyady was unanimously elected Governor of Hungary in 1446. Royal power was given into his hands during the King's minority, to enable him to protect the country the more effectually. For ten years did Hunyady sway over the destinies of Hungary, with unshaken fidelity to his country and his King, although the Count Ulrich Cilli, in the King's name, persecuted him with his intri-

gues; and although Giskra went the length of taking the field openly against him. He was repeatedly in danger of his life, but he foiled the plans of his assassins, and undismayed and uninfluenced by enmities and persecutions, he devoted his life to Hungary. He defended its frontier against the Turks, against the encroachments of the Emperor Frederick, against the Bohemian hordes of Giskra, and against the treasonable plots of the Servian Prince Brankowics, who, in alternate league with Cilli and with the Sultan, vainly attempted to triumph over Hungary and over Hunyady. His justice, disinterestedness and patriotism, were acknowledged by the whole country; and after the battle of Kossovopole, in which he was defeated by Murat (1447), he was as generally popular as after his victory at Semendria (1454). The whole of the nation were convinced that he was his country's greatest general and her most loyal son. But the Camarilla which surrounded the youthful King hated Hunyady with all the bitterness of that hate which is only found at court; and when Ladislas commenced his reign in the year 1483, his narrow mind could not brook the popularity of Hunyady. While he loaded him with honours he sought his ruin.

In 1456 Hungary was attacked by Mohammed II. the conqueror of Constantinople, who marched up to Hunyady's fortress of Belgrade. In this extremity, the King delayed the sending of an army to his rescue, for he would have been pleased with the defeat of the old hero. But Hunyady recruited and equipped an army at his own expense; nor did the people and his friends abandon him in the hour of danger.

John Capistran, a Franciscan monk preached a crusade, and brought large numbers of country-people to the standard of Hunyady, who attacked the formidable and well-appointed forces of the Sultan, (14th July). He defeated the Turks and captured three-hundred pieces of artillery and an incredible amount of treasure and war-stores. Hunyady, the hero, died twenty days after this glorious victory, and after a month, he was followed by his friend and companion-in-arms, John Capistran, the monk.

But the Count Cilli's revengeful passions were by no means allayed by the death of Hunyady; on the contrary, he endeavoured to effect the ruin of the two sons of the late governor.* The King made a seeming reconciliation with the two young men, and invited them to come to his court. But when Ladislas Hunyady made his appearance at Buda, he was arrested and forthwith executed. His brother Matthias too was cast into jail, and there is no knowing what his fate would have been, but for the decease of the King, who died at Prague in 1457. The grateful people of Hungary elected Matthias Corvinus, the second son of Hunyady, to the vacant throne.

Matthias was at that time a minor. The government of the country was therefore placed into the hands of his uncle, Michael Szilagyi, (an ancestor of the Counts Teleki), and it was stipulated that he should convoke an annual Diet. But Matthias,

* Count Ladislas, the elder son, was to be assassinated at Belgrade, but he escaped, and Count Cilli was killed by the friends of the Hunyady.

though just then entering his sixteenth year, was a *man* in mind if not in age. He opposed his uncle, who attempted to dispense with the laws of the land; arrested him, and confined him for a short time to the castle of Vilagos.

For one-and-thirty years did Matthias wear the crown. The time of his reign was the most splendid period of Hungarian history. The King, great as a statesman, great as a general, was a friend to liberty, and for that very reason he was a severe ruler, who punished with unflinching severity, any illegal encroachment of the oligarchy, and who subjected the Crown to no other influence than the legal power of the Diet. The position and circumstances of the country, and his own warlike character, involved him in frequent wars, and his talent triumphing over obstacles, he became the parent of modern strategy. He condemned the ancient military establishment of Hungary, but no less did he condemn the clumsy and middle-aged institutions of Louis and Sigismund, and of all European sovereigns; he was the first to establish a standing army, viz. the "Black Legion," which was always kept under arms, and which formed the centre of the levies which joined his standard, when the frontiers of Hungary were threatened by a foreign enemy.

The introduction of a standing army was necessarily followed by a change in the manner of raising, and in the amount of the supplies. Matthias began his financial measures by introducing the greatest order, and the most scrupulous regularity in the expenditure of public monies; and in the next instance he exerted his popularity and authority successfully over

the Diet, for the purpose of increasing the public income. Not only did he prevail on the Diet to vote the taxes which were to be levied on the 'Villain' population, but he induced them to tax the Clergy and the nobility, by voting extraordinary and voluntary supplies. If the system which proved so signally successful in the case of Matthias, had been uniformly adopted by his successors, had they imitated his wise economy, his respect of the people's rights and of the advice of the Diet, they would have raised Hungary in the sixteenth century, to a proud place among the states of Eastern Europe.

In the first ten years of his reign, Matthias turned his arms principally against the Turks, whom he routed in various battles. Bosnia and Servia, Moldavia and Wallachia, acknowledged at that time the suzereignty of Hungary; and the predatory invasions of the Turks were energetically repulsed by the King, who frequently pursued them across the Danube.

Although Matthias most jealously protected the power of the Crown against the encroachments of the Holy See,* he was a zealous Roman Catholic, and he was therefore easily induced to make war upon the Kalixtine, Podiebrad, whom the Bohemians had raised to

* The king declared: "Nolumus omnino in temporalibus a sede apostolica judicari, non modo super civitatibus, et castris, sed nec super uno fundo vel una vinea." And to the Pope he wrote in 1481: "Certa debet esse sua Sanctitas, duplicatam illam crucem, quæ regni nostri insigne est, gentem hungaram libentius triplicare velle, quam in id consentire, ut beneficia vel prælaturæ ad jus coronæ spectantes per sedem apostolicam conferantur.

the throne of their country. This war was pernicious to the interest of both parties. It had some features of signal advantage for the Emperor Frederick of Austria, under whom the Pope had formerly officiated as Secretary. George Podiebrad was like Matthias Corvinus, inasmuch as he owed his throne to his own virtues and the confidence of his people. He was quite as good a politician as his adversary; and when the two princes were opposed to each other by religious fanaticism, Frederick of Austria was a gainer on either side, for nothing could be more advantageous to him than that his most powerful neighbours should lessen their forces by a protracted and unprofitable conflict. Podiebrad, as well as Matthias, wished repeatedly to negotiate a peace, but their attempts at reconciliation were frustrated by the intrigues of the Pope's ambassador, and the feud was still raging when Podiebrad died. It is owing to the ill-feeling which was engendered by this protracted war, that the Bohemians did not offer their Crown to the energetic King of Hungary, but to the weak and despicable King of Poland, Uladislas, and this was what Frederick of Austria desired. Matthias concluded a peace, and the temporary dominion over Silesia and Moravia was all he gained by a war of ten years' duration.

The most dangerous of the King's antagonists was the Emperor Frederick III., a tough Austrian, miserly, vindictive and patient, ever ready when driven to extremities, to give any promise and to break it as readily, whenever circumstances favoured him. At the time of Matthias' elevation to the throne, the Austrian Emperor put forth a claim to Hungary, and

when that claim was disregarded, he fomented and fostered all domestic and foreign intrigues against the King. The Pope, Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) succeeded for a long time in preventing the King from making war against the Emperor, but a war broke out at last. The Emperor could not withstand the onset of the Hungarian horsemen: Matthias conquered the majority of the Austrian cities (1472) and consented to a peace, which was broken by the Emperor as soon as he thought he could make resistance. Matthias renewed the attack in 1480, and in 1485 he besieged and conquered the city of Vienna.

In the second half of the reign of Matthias, Hungary was less frequently invaded by the Turks. The defeats which they suffered from the King's troops, broke their spirit of enterprise, and when they persisted to attack the Hungarians, as for instance, in 1479, they were severely punished by the King's generals, Bathory and Kinizsy, 30,000 Turks were slain in the battle of Kenyérmerö.

The greater order which Matthias introduced into the administration of finances, enabled him to devote part of his care and resources to the advancement of science. He filled his Court with learned men of all nations; he founded a University at Pressburg; and it was under his protection that the Bishops established Colleges at Waizen, Grosswardein, Erlau and Gran. But the King's dearest treasure was his library, containing about 50,000 books and MSS., bound in gold, velvet and silk, and illustrated by the greatest artists of the time.

The love of pomp and splendour of the Magnates, whom the King instigated to extravagance, had a

demoralising effect upon the Aristocracy, and by the establishment of a standing army the people became unaccustomed to the dangers and fatigues of war. The King's energetic and centralising policy prevented the further development of municipal institutions, and the germs which Sigismund had planted and frivolously neglected, could not prosper and rise under King Matthias.

That King died at Vienna in 1490, leaving no issue except an illegitimate son, John Corvin, who, though heir to all the virtues of his great father, was still utterly void of ambition. He laid no claim to the Crown, which could not have been placed on a worthier head.

The Hungarian Oligarchy, long tired of Matthias's severity and justice, received the news of his death with exultation. The Magnates of the Empire resolved to elect such a King only, whom they could always keep under their hands (*hujus crines continuo in manibus tenere possent*) and their choice fell upon Uladislas Jaghello, the second of that name in Hungary, the same who had followed George Podiebrad on the throne of Bohemia. Uladislas II. was good-natured, lavish of money, void of energy, an easy-going and easy-taking man, who cared little for State affairs, and who was wholly engrossed with the pleasures and cares of his family and of hunting. He is but another instance in the long list of kings, who were respectable in private, but despicable in public life. At the commencement of his reign he was called upon to make war against the pretenders to the Crown, when John Corvin took the new King's part and advancing against Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Frederick, he defeated

his army at Stuhlweissenburg. Albert of Poland, a brother of Uladislas, who likewise rose against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, was attacked by Zapolya, who defeated him in the battle of Kashau. The two pretenders were happy to come to terms with the King, who resigned the Austrian countries to Maximilian, whom he now designated as his heir in Hungary, if he should die without leaving issue. But the Diet of 1492 refused to sanction a treaty which jeopardized the independence of the country.

The reign of Uladislas (1490—1516) was a time of hopeless distress for Hungary. The King was unable to impose respect on the overbearing aristocracy, who oppressed the middle classes, and the authority of the Crown was ruined by awkward financial measures and by the pecuniary embarrassments of the Court. The predatory tribes of the Turks gained in boldness as they felt that the Hungarian forces were not led by a soldier and a hero. Still their invasions were successfully repulsed by John Corvin and by Zinizsy, the old companion in arms of the great Matthias; but when they and their generation of heroes drooped and died, there was no man left to uphold the ancient martial glory of Hungary. Even the gallant "Black Legion" was disbanded, for the men became mutinous when the King's prodigality made him unequal to the expense of their pay and maintenance.

The Magnates of the Empire were soon divided into two parties. The most influential among them were, Bakats, the Bishop of Erlau; the King's Chancellor and Zapolya, who, with his son John, the Woiwode of Transylvania, took the lead of the Opposition. The two Zapolyas attacked the King's

prodigality and the mis-government of Bakats. They strove to form a strong party and to prepare for future contingencies.

In Uladislas' reign the Diets followed one another in quick succession, and each Diet limited the Royal Prerogatives and refused even those taxes, which were indispensable for the defence of the country. The Exchequer was a prey to both, friends and foes, and the King himself was at length reduced to severe distress and in want even of the commonest necessaries of life, especially after the death of his Queen, who had at least maintained something like order in his household. Uladislas became a prey to dull melancholy, and but one single care affected his mind, viz.; what he should do to protect and establish the future career of his children. This end he hoped to gain by a connexion of his family with that of the Emperor Maximilian, and a treaty was concluded, according to which, the King's daughter was to be married to Archduke Ferdinand (the Emperor's grandson) while the King's son was to be united to Ferdinand's sister, Maria. By this arrangement, Maximilian hoped to gain the Crown of Hungary, which had long been coveted by the Hapsburg family. But as early as 1505, the Magnates of the kingdom had, on the proposition of Zapolya, pledged their oaths that they would never elect a foreigner, who was ignorant of the language, customs, and laws of Hungary.

While intrigues were fomented on all sides; while Bakats exerted his influence in favour of Austria; while the King of Poland (a brother-in-law to John Zapolya) agitated for the benefit of his sister's husband; the country was suddenly convulsed by an

awful *Jaquerie.* Bakats, whom the Pope had appointed as his legate throughout the East of Europe, had already as early as 1414, consented to preach a Crusade against the Turks. Countless crowds of peasants flocked to his standard and assumed the red Cross. The nobility, and especially the Magnates, were strangers to the movement—indeed, in some places, they showed themselves hostile to it, for the fields remained untilled and the peasants that had rallied round the Cross, had but scanty harvest to look forward to. Moreover, it was assigned, and with a good show of reason too, that Bakatsh intended to employ his Crusaders against the Aristocracy; and this suspicion gained still more ground, when the King confided the command of this army, not to one of the great chiefs of Hungary, but to George Dózsa, a Szekler of doubtful, if not mean, extraction. Dózsa had given some signal proofs of personal bravery in a battle against the Turks, but he had never been in command, and he hated the Aristocracy, for he considered that they had given him offence. When he found himself therefore placed at the head of an army, he led his forces not against the Turks, but against the landed proprietors. He told his people that the nobility must be annihilated; the Royal dignity was to be abolished; equal rights and equal duties were to be given and imposed on everybody. Hungary was large enough to keep all her children in plenty and ease. Such theories were highly palatable to the peasants, and acting up to them, they assassinated the landed proprietors, sacked the cities, and burned the castellated mansions of the Magnates. This was fearful, but still more fearful was the revenge

of the nobility, when, after recovering from their first panic, they attacked and routed the peasant-forces at Szegedin. The nobility were, on this occasion, led by the Woiwode, John Zapolya. Dózsa, who became a prisoner to Zapolya, was placed on a throne of red hot iron and crowned with a crown of the same metal; his captains too, were tortured and executed. And the Diet, which assembled after the insurrection, punished the peasantry, by condemning them to servitude, binding them to the glebe and depriving them of all political rights.

Uladislas II. died soon afterwards, after concluding a treaty of mutual succession with Maximilian. The Estates of the Kingdom declared that treaty to be null and void. All the splendour and glory of the Crown of Hungary had left it under the Government of Uladislas, and though in the south, the frontiers of the kingdom remained respected, and though Bosnia, Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia still acknowledged the suzereignty of Hungary, the former strength of the country was crumbling into decay and prepared to fall at the first shock.

The power of the Oligarchy grew apace and gained in strength during the minority of King Louis II. Their party, under Zapolya, was opposed by the partizans of the Court and the Palatine Bathory. Their factious resistance and opposition were not likely to stem the tide of the dissolution of the Hungarian Empire. When the King at length seized the reins of Government, he evinced a morbid desire but wanted the strength to rule. He was extravagant and frivolous; he resigned a claim of forty thousand gold florins for the gift of a falcon; and as a natural

consequence of his waste and thoughtlessness, he was frequently reduced to such severe distress that Burgio, the Pope's legate, states that he often was in want of a pair of boots (et rex non habet calceos). And when he was forced by an empty treasury or by the impending dangers of a Turkish invasion, to convoke the Diet, he met the remonstrances of his Estates and their complaints, that none of their resolutions were executed, by expressions of grief at the inauspicious character of circumstances, or by sacrificing a courtier to the public indignation; but he uniformly protested against the control of a Committee, respecting the administration of the finances. Louis II. was married to Maria, sister to the Emperor Charles V. Queen Maria was a woman of a masculine character, and by her education addicted to high and arbitrary principles of Government. She encouraged the King in his resistance against the demands of the Diet, and on one occasion she went to the length of seizing a pen, drawing a line through the resolution, authorising a Committee to inquire into the application of the public money, and adding a marginal note: "Unus Rex, unus princeps," she returned the document to the Diet.

But a feud and a still more dangerous schism was at hand. The Middle Classes rose in opposition against the two rival factions of Bathory and Zapolya. They were disgusted with the oppression of the Magnates. They insisted on the expulsion of all foreigners from the Court. They demanded the removal of the State Officers, who squandered the public money and ruined the country. They promised the King that they would rid him of the arrogant do-

minion of the Magnates, that they would strengthen his authority and take energetic measures against the Turks. But the King refused to countenance their movement. At the Diet of Hatvan (1525) he was indeed compelled to yield to them and to appoint their leader, Verbötzy, to the post of Palatine; but he was well-pleased to see the success of the Court party, who managed to overthrow the Palatine Verbötzy, in spite of his endeavour to allay the enmities and conciliate the affection of the Magnates.

But while the Court-party was at war with the middle-classes, and while Zapolya and his followers retired from the contest, a storm was hovering from the South. Suleiman the Great planned an expedition against Hungary. The Pope had long been aware of the impending danger. He was more alive to it than the Hungarians, who instead of preparing for the combat, amused themselves by making the King responsible for any unfortunate contingency, whilst he, in his turn, protested that, only the want of confidence of the Estates ought to bear the blame of any accident that might happen. The Pope had meanwhile sent a sum of money to Hungary for the purpose of assisting the Hungarian forces, and he had given his permission to the employment of Church-property for the defence of the country; but in spite of the fearful danger, the lower nobility refused to take the field, unless the King and the Magnates were assembled and in arms. Thus did they trifle away their time, and Suleiman had crossed the Danube and the Drave, before the Hungarian army was assembled. At length the King took the field, and encamped at Mohats with a

small force of 20,000 men; but messengers had come from Szegedin to tell him that Zapolya was advancing to the rescue with 14,000 men, and that until he prayed the King would not engage in a battle, his force was in the field. A similar message was brought from Christoph Frangepani, who approached from Croatia, with 15,000 men. But the Court party would not condescend to owe the salvation of the country to the hated Zapolya, and they urged the King to attack the Turks. Tomory, the Archbishop of Kalocsa who had formerly resigned his sword for a cowl and who had sworn to doff his pallium for the sword, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces. Tomory was eager to begin the fight. Many of the ancient officers were aware that 25,000 men had no chance against the superior forces of the Turks, but they all, following the impulse of the careless haughtiness and martial resolution which characterizes the Hungarians, joined their voices with the clamour of those, who advised the King to attack the Turks. Only Francis Perenyi, the Bishop of Grossvardein, remarked, that "since Bishop Bradarish had been Ambassador at Rome, he thought the best plan would be to send him back to the Pope, to entreat his Holiness to canonize the 20,000 Hungarian Martyrs, who were to lay down their lives for the cause of Christendom."

The Hungarian battle-line leant on the swamps of Mohats. Suleiman attacked them on the 29th of August, 1526. His forlorn hopes were driven back, and the Hungarians advancing, made an onset on the Sultan's artillery, which consisted of two hundred cannons. The fire of the Turks mowed them down by

rank and file; but the files in the rear advanced with a fatal determination, and the combat came soon to a close, because none of the Hungarians were left to continue it. Tomory, Perenyi, and six Bishops, George, the brother of John Zapolya, twenty-eight bannerets, five hundred members of the aristocracy, and twenty-two thousand soldiers were killed in this most bloody battle. The King fled, but his horse fell in the rivulet of Csele, and Louis II. ended his inglorious life by being drowned when flying from the field of battle. None escaped but the Palatine Bathory, Peter Perenyi, Francis Batthyanyi, and the Bishop Bradarics with three thousand of the Pope's mercenaries.

Suleiman advanced to Buda without meeting with any resistance. He sacked that city and devastated the districts on the other side of the Danube; but he returned to his Empire, carrying with him a fabulous amount of booty, and seventy thousand captives; and although he did not extend his dominion across the Save and Drave, the power of the Hungarians was not the less effectually broken.

Third Period.

THE HUNGARIANS UNDER THE KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND LORRAINE.

The news of the defeat at Mohacs, and the death of the King, spread with the swiftness of lightning; and in the night following that bloody day, it reached the ears of the Queen Maria. She instantly fled from Buda to Pressburg, after first writing a letter to her brother Ferdinand, the Archduke of Austria, in which she informed him briefly and coldly of the defeat; but at the same time declaring her views as to the means by which Ferdinand might gain the throne. Maria—subsequently Stadtholder of the Netherlands—had never known any other feeling than that of ambition to witness the aggrandizement of her House.

When Suleiman quitted the country after his predatory incursion, both Zapolya and the Queen began their intrigues with a view to insure the election of the King, in accordance with their purposes. Zapolya for a moment endeavoured to reconcile their clashing interests, and offered his hand to the Queen; but the proud Princess of the House of Hapsburg rejected the offer. Zapolya thereupon summoned a Diet for the election of

a King, and the estates of the realm assembled on the 9th of November at Fejèrvàr (Stuhlweissenberg, Alba Regalis), where Zapolya interred the body of King Louis, which he had diligently sought and found, with becoming honours. Maria had for two full months taken no step to this end; she was too much engaged in her brother's interests, who on the 23rd of October, had succeeded to the throne of Bohemia, which had likewise become vacant upon the death of Louis, and was now endeavouring to gain the crown of St. Stephen. The Diet unanimously elected John Zapolya King, who received the unqualified adhesion of the lower nobles and the people, whilst the high oligarchs despised him.

The powerful aristocrat who had so often defied the Kings, became a feeble monarch, deficient in energy and determination. His friends counselled him without delay to disperse the partizans of Ferdinand by force of arms, to invade Austria, and at the head of the Hungarian army to win by the sword the recognition of his rival at the gates of Vienna. But Zapolya answered, that he desired no shedding of blood, and that he commended his just cause to Providence. Meanwhile the Queen and the Palatine Bathory, had also obtained the promise of the support of the Magnates of the Kingdom; and as soon as Ferdinand had tendered his promise in writing, that he would preserve inviolate all the rights and liberties of Hungary, even should he be obliged to attain the throne by force of arms, they declared themselves in his favour, and elected him King on the 16th of December, 1526. The estates of Sclavonia paid homage to King John Zapolya on the 18th of December, those of Croatia on

the 1st of January, 1527, to King Ferdinand. Civil war was inevitable. But instead of cutting off at a blow Ferdinand's partizans who were all in Western Hungary and the frontiers of the country, Zapolya endeavoured to negotiate a peace. Ferdinand, who always considered that to gain time was the greatest gain, never rejected any offer of mediation; but as soon as he was sufficiently strong, he broke off the negotiations, hastened to Hungary with his army, surprized Zapolya, who during the negotiations for peace had neglected to make preparations for war, and defeated him. Zapolya fled into Transylvania; the greater part of the Hungarians deserted him, and joined Ferdinand, who on the 3rd of November, 1527, took the oath to the Constitution of Hungary, and was solemnly crowned. But Ferdinand now, instead of concluding peace with Zapolya, proscribed him and Verböczy, together with all their adherents.

Zapolya applied for aid to the Sultan. Driven to extremities, he could only look for deliverance to Constantinople; but in doing so he sacrificed the honour of the country, by declaring his willingness to receive the crown of Hungary in fief from the Sultan. This offer would have assuredly estranged from him the hearts of all his adherents, who prized so highly the independence of their country. But Ferdinand was in this respect not more conscientious; it is true that he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, who at first maintained a lofty and dignified tone; but when the fortune of war decided against Ferdinand, he was instantly ready to promise a yearly tribute to the Sultan, nay even to the proud Grand Vizir, the Albanese renegade, Ibrahim.

Suleiman entered Hungary in 1529: his army met

with no resistance. Ferdinand had indeed promised that he would protect his new kingdom against the Turks, with the whole power of the German Empire; but the German Empire sent no army, and the King mistrusted the Hungarians, and purposely neglected to concentrate and organize the power of Hungary. The Sultan easily reduced Buda (Ofen) and Visegrád, where the Hungarian crown fell into his hands; Comorn and Raab were abandoned by the German garrisons. In September, Suleiman was under the walls of Vienna; but the city offered a stout resistance, under the command of the brave Count Salm. When winter approached, the Sultan raised the siege, delivered over Hungary to Zapolya, and retired within his own dominions.

Scarcely were the Turks gone, when Ferdinand again invaded Hungary, and continued to war against John Zapolya. Distrustful as he was, he never committed the chief command of his troops to an Hungarian, and sought to garrison all the fortresses with German troops. These Germans had neither any knowledge of, nor any affection for Hungary: they ran riot as in an enemy's country; but Ferdinand's generals were either cowards and traitors, like Hardek, Kaczianer, Roggendorf, Lascano, Teufel; or bad dilatory commanders, like Joachim von Brandenburg; or condottieri who fought bravely, but at the same time pillaged the country, like Castaldo and Schwendi. When Zapolya was again hard pressed, Suleiman a second time entered Hungary, in 1532. The object of this invasion was again Austria; but the little town of Güns, defended by the Croat Jurissich, and a garrison of seven hundred Hungarians, resisted the Sultan's

army for some time; every attempt to storm the place was defeated by these heroes. Jurissich was resolved to hold out to the last; but after having repulsed a general assault, there being no longer any chance of safety, as the walls were already tottering, the Sultan, who honoured his bravery, summoned him to raise a Turkish flag for one hour, offering to be satisfied with this homage. The Turks, thereupon, laid waste Austria and Styria, and again retired into their Empire. Ferdinand, after many fruitless negotiations, consented at last to the Peace of Grosswardein, in 1538. The *status quo* formed the basis of this peace; John was acknowledged lawful King in the East, Ferdinand in the West; and the two Kings bound themselves to recognize the acts of their respective governments. After the death of John, the kingdom was to fall to Ferdinand; but in case John should leave behind him a son, the latter was to marry an Archduchess, and come into undisturbed possession of his father's immense landed property as Duke of Zipsen.

King John died in 1540, leaving behind him a child in the cradle, Duke John Sigismund; he committed the guardianship to the monk George Utissenich, also named Martinuzzi, and the warrior Peter Petrovich. Martinuzzi was a statesman of the first rank, skilful, brave, cunning, and ambitious; Petrovich was a gallant soldier. They resolved to send an embassy to the Sultan—from whom the Peace of Grosswardein had been kept secret—with presents, and the request that he would confirm the son of King John in possession of Hungary. Ferdinand had constantly neglected to take any measures for the defence of Hungary, and he was wholly unable to resist the Turks, who,

as soon as the East of Hungary should be delivered up to Ferdinand, would assuredly have invaded the country. Suleiman confirmed John Sigmund as Lord of Hungary. Ferdinand saw that the Peace of Grosswardein was not adhered to, and consequently in 1540 he ordered Ofen (Buda) to be attacked. His General Roggendorf was easily repulsed by the Hungarians, but Suleiman also appeared for the fourth time in Hungary, and left Turkish garrisons in Ofen and other Hungarian fortresses, alleging that John Sigismund was too weak to defend them. This was the beginning of the Turkish rule in Hungary.

Isabella, the mother of John Sigismund, who was in his minority, very soon felt that, hemmed in between Ferdinand and Suleiman, Transylvania could not maintain its independence. She felt her dependence on Martinuzzi, and therefore opened negotiations for peace with Austria, which were at length concluded in 1551. Isabella, in consideration of an indemnification, resigned Transylvania and the eastern part of Hungary to Ferdinand. Petrovich unwillingly delivered up the fortresses of Temesvar, Lippa, and Lugos, to the brave Losonczy the King's General; for he knew that soon they would be no longer as heretofore under the nominal, but under the direct rule of the Turks: he knew the negligence of Ferdinand, and openly said, that he would be hostler to any one who held these fortresses for only three years against the Turks.

Martinuzzi, on the other hand, who had been nominated Archbishop of Gran and Voivoda of Transylvania, and had also received a Cardinal's hat through the King, continued his secret negotiations with the Turks; conscious of his genius, he aimed at being

an independent Prince of Transylvania. Before this time, under King John, the Italian Gritti had entertained the same project, but before he could accomplish it he was murdered by some of the adherents of the Austrian party. Martinuzzi likewise shared the same fate: with the consent of Ferdinand, Castaldo, Ferdinand's General, had him assassinated.

Petrovich's anticipation was soon realized. In 1552, Suleiman attacked Ferdinand's newly acquired possession, the latter having taken no measures for its defence. Losonczy was besieged in Temesvar; his heroic wife led an army to his relief against the camp of the Turks, but was defeated. A revolt of the German garrison at length compelled the hero to surrender the fortress, on terms of free exit. The Vizirs accompanied him with a guard of honour through the Turkish camp; but the Janissaries began to drag from their horses the soldiers of the garrison one by one, and take them prisoners.

Losonczy remained silent for a time; but when his esquire, young Tomory, who carried his gilded armour, was dragged from his horse at his very side, he turned to the Spaniard Perez, and said, "This is Turkish faith—we fall, but not unavenged." He cut down the Turk who took the lad prisoner: a conflict ensued, and the garrison were slain to the last man. Meanwhile, Szondi was besieged in the rock-fortress of Dregel by Ali Pasha. When no hope of relief longer remained, the hero sent his two little sons clad in scarlet, with presents to the Pasha, and with the request that he would bring them up as brave warriors. But Szondi himself burned all his treasures in the court-yard of the castle, and at the head of the garrison made a desperate

sally, in which, after making a bloody slaughter of the Turks, they were all slain. Dobó and Bornemisza were more fortunate in Erlau; with hastily assembled troops they withstood in this fortress the repeated assaults of the whole Turkish army. Women and old men shared in the defence, and the Turks were obliged to raise the siege. But all this heroism was in vain. Ferdinand, who constantly mistrusted the Hungarians, and never brought his Germans and Walloons into the country at the right time, either could not or would not unite the forces that were in Hungary: they were dispersed, and the nation bled freely; for in spite of the heroic sacrifice of individuals, the Sultan perpetually increased his aggressions. Ferdinand died in 1564, after again delivering up Transylvania, (which he could not hold) to John Sigismund.

Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand I. is represented in history as a noble, tolerant, and just Prince; but the Hapsburg policy was so uniform and consistent towards Hungary, that even the noble nature of Maximilian belied itself. He gave the same assurances as his father had given, but he kept them with no better faith; he mistrusted the Hungarians, and he appointed foreign commanders to every post; his mercenary troops devastated the country, and the laws of Hungary were continually violated. Maximilian had even the boldness to send his demands to the Diet in the German language. He was of course only feebly supported by the country; he soon fell into strife with John Sigismund, but could not conquer him, and was obliged to conclude a peace. The Turks again made predatory incursions into Hungary. Suleiman's last campaign against the Hungarians in the year 1566,

might have been nearly fatal to Austria; for the Emperor was again, as usual, unprepared, when the Sultan with an immense army crossed the Danube; but Nicolas Zrinyi arrested the advance of the Turks in Szigeth. The Sultan besieged him here for a whole month; and when Zrinyi saw there was no longer any hope, he set fire to the fortress, threw himself with his garrison upon the Turkish camp, and closed with the enemy in a hand-to-hand conflict. The siege of Szigeth cost the Turks twenty thousand men, and the Emperor gained time to collect an army; but when he heard that Suleiman the Great had died before Szigeth, and the Turkish army was retiring, he likewise disbanded his forces.

John Sigismund died in Transylvania in 1571, the last Prince of the House of the Zapolyas. He had not distinguished himself as a sovereign, and his name is memorable in history only from his having so early as the sixteenth century practised religious toleration to its fullest extent, and granted to the Unitarians in Transylvania perfect tolerance and equal rights with all the other classes of Christians. Socinus lived in his court. His successor was Stephen Bathory, the greatest hero and statesman of his time, whom on this account the Poles elected as their King, when Henry of Anjou fled from Warsaw in 1574, leaving the throne vacant. Maximilian had used every endeavour to bring Poland under the dominion of his House, but his efforts were vain; he died soon after without having done anything for Hungary.

With Maximilian's successor, Rudolph, begins a new phase of Hungarian history. In the battles with the Turks, and against the Princes of Transylvania, who were nominally the vassals of Turkey, a higher and religious

was now added to the political interest. Even before the battle of Mohács, Luther had gained many adherents in Hungary, notwithstanding that in 1523 a law was promulgated, commanding with the utmost brevity, "Lutherani comburantur." In consequence of the death of most of the Bishops in battle, and amid the confusion caused by the double election of a King, the Reformation had gained ground. Ferdinand was no persecutor, and Maximilian even favoured the new doctrines. The greater part of the aristocracy, the Sclavonians in the northern counties, the Germans in the towns of Hungary and in the Saxonland of Transylvania, and the Hungarians in the plains, adopted the new doctrines: among the Wallachs, the Ruthenians, the Serbs in Lower Hungary, and the Croats, alone the Reformation found no adherents. More than two-thirds, however, of the country had abandoned the Romish Church. With Rudolph now begins a succession of fanatical rulers, whose chief aim and purpose in life, was on the one hand the extirpation of Protestantism, and on the other, the foundation of absolutism. The wars were henceforth wars of religion and liberty; the Princes of Transylvania were the natural champions of religious freedom and constitutional government; whilst the governmental policy of the Hapsburgs was expressed by one of their ministers in these words: "Faciam Hungariam prius mendicam, dein Germanam, postea Catholicam."

The history of Hungary, from 1576 to 1604, has nothing of the grandeur of former epochs. In Transylvania various Princes of the House of Báthory ruled, continually wavering between the Sultan and the Emperor, engaged in petty wars with both, and troubled

by rebellions and conspiracies, until at length Sigmund Báthory surrendered the Principality to Rudolph, in which Basta, the general of the Emperor behaved as in an enemy's country. Rudolph waged a war against the Turks, which lasted fifteen years: the latter continually pressed onward more and more, and the country was exhausted, as the Emperor mistrusted the Hungarians, and relied only on Germans and Walloons.

Illésházy, who was subsequently Palatine, gives in his diary the following description of the army:— "Archduke Matthias was the commanding General; such a good-natured man, that he punished no one in the camp, and did justice to no one; in consequence there were innumerable rows and disturbances: not a day passed that some Hungarian was not slain. The camp was so full of immorality and drinking, of banqueting and trading, and courtly splendour, that it was an abomination not only in the sight of God, but even before sinful men. The chiefs sat down to table at ten o'clock, and rose drunk at about four or five: one went to sleep, another to take a stroll. The Archduke did not go out for weeks together; but the soldiers ravaged all the towns and villages for twenty or twenty-five miles around; they drove off the cattle and the horses of the peasants without paying for them, and cut down the crops for fodder for their horses. But the military councillor of war is with the Archduke, David Ungund, the drunkard, and with him two German Captains, who were never in battle, and have never seen a Turk; and Ferdinandus Count of Hardekk, the Commander of Raab."

From such a state of military affairs, no brilliant

result could of course be hoped for. Raab fell; Erlau was taken by the Turks, and even the battle of Keresztes, after being won in 1595, was turned into a defeat by the insubordination which prevailed in the army. One brilliant action alone is noticeable in the course of this long war. Count Niklas Palffy and Adolf Schwarzenberg took Raab by storm in 1597, with only five thousand men.

But the political condition of the country was also deplorable. Rudolph remained in his castle at Prague, shut up in his astrological study, or surrounded by his collection of works of art: no Hungarian could come near him, nor did he himself ever go to Hungary. In the Diets which were frequently held under him, his government continually demanded new requisitions for the Turkish war, but the grievances of the country were unheeded. Rudolph refused to allow the election of a Palatine; all his Generals were Germans; the complaints against the oppressions which they exercised died away unheard. The Protestants were at the same time systematically oppressed; the Jesuits, supported by the German Generals, converted the people by force; the churches were taken away from the Protestants, and the clergymen driven away.

At length however, in 1604, the patience of the Hungarians was exhausted. The Diet had submitted twenty-one articles of law to Rudolph for his confirmation; but the latter of his own sovereign authority added a twenty-second, in which he confirmed all the former laws in favour of the Romish Church, forbade any discussion in the Diet upon religious matters, and ordered any one who should intrude such questions

upon the Diet, to be punished as a pernicious reformer.

The violation of the Constitution excited the greatest indignation among all Hungarians, even those who were not Protestants. In Upper Hungary the taxes were instantly withheld. Stephen Bocskay, a distinguished soldier, placed himself at the head of the malcontents; whereupon Rudolph's Generals seized on Bocskay's castles; but he fled to the Haiduks, who instantly took up arms in the cause of religious freedom. The insurrection spread with the swiftness of lightning. Basta, the tyrannical Stadtholder of Transylvania was defeated; the whole country joined Bocskay; his cavalry swept through Moravia and Austria, up to the very walls of Vienna. In this perilous extremity, the Archduke Matthias, who conducted the affairs of government for Hungary, turned to Illésházy, whom Rudolph had outlawed, and who was awaiting the course of events at Cracow. The outlaw negotiated a peace between Rudolph and Bocskay, which was concluded in 1606, and went by the name of the Religious Peace of Vienna. Rudolph promised perfect religious freedom, and the strict maintenance of the Hungarian Constitution; he also acknowledged Bocskay as Prince of Transylvania, and Lord of a portion of Hungary. Bocskay hastened to conclude the peace, notwithstanding he perceived that some Jesuitical clauses would soon give rise to misunderstandings; but he felt that he was poisoned, and feared that after his approaching death, not even so much might be obtained as Rudolph now offered. By the plenipotentiaries of the Archduke Matthias, who had been recognized by Rudolph as

Regent of Hungary, by those of Bocskay, and lastly of the Sultan, a peace was at the same time concluded at Zsitvatorok near Comorn—the first in which no tribute was demanded by the Turks, and which properly confirmed and recognized the division of Hungary between the King, the Prince of Transylvania, and the Sultan. Bocskay died soon after the conclusion of this peace; but Rudolph, who had grown daily more melancholy, and gave himself entirely up to his scientific pursuits and absolutist desires, was obliged by the alliance of the Archdukes Matthias, Maximilian, Ferdinand and Ernst, together with the threatening position of Hungary, to resign Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to Matthias.

Upon the abdication of Rudolph, the Hungarians readily elected his brother Matthias King, at the Diet of 1608, but not until he had solemnly sanctioned the conditions of the Peace of Vienna as the law of the realm, assented to some reforms in reference to the Diet, and prepared others. Illésházy was chosen Palatine, and Hungary hoped that peace and the Constitution would be at length re-established, and that the country would recover from the wounds which a whole century of misgovernment and civil war had inflicted. The government of Matthias II. was comparatively a tranquil one: the King indeed evidently favoured the Roman Catholic Church, but the Protestants were not severely persecuted. Cardinal Francis Forgács, Archbishop of Gran, and his successor the famous Peter Pázman, both converts to Catholicism, waged a resolute war against the Protestants, but only with the weapons of persuasion and knowledge. They erected schools and higher educational institutions for the clergy; and at

the same time by retaining their patriotic spirit, they succeeded in withdrawing many distinguished men from the Reformation. But just at the time when these remarkable men were labouring to strengthen Catholicism anew in Hungary, Gabriel Bethlen (Bethlen Gabor), the most distinguished defender of the Hungarian Protestants ascended the throne in Transylvania.

Gabriel Báthory, a frivolous tyrant, who had soon rendered himself hated in Transylvania, could not longer remain in that country; his friends forsook him, and the Turks supported Gabriel Bethlen against him. Báthory was slain in 1613, and Bethlen was also recognized as Prince by Matthias, although the Viennese councillors of the King had advised war.

Matthias had still a great task to fulfil, that of securing the succession to the throne for the Archduke Ferdinand, of the Styrian line; in this matter he experienced no opposition from the Diet. Ferdinand was elected King in 1618, and was crowned as soon as the Constitution appeared to be secured, by the election of a Palatine, and by the guarantee of fresh promises to hold the past inviolate.

Even before the death of Matthias, Ferdinand II. interfered in the Government; the prudent compliance which Cardinal Klesel, the friend and councillor of the Emperor, had uniformly recommended as the best policy, appeared to the new King treason against the interests of Catholicism. He had the Cardinal imprisoned, and instead of conciliatory proclamations, he sent troops against the Protestant Bohemians. Matthias saw with pain the first outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and died in 1619, with the hopeless con-

viction, that his successor would destroy by inconsiderate severity all that he had with such pains erected. In Hungary, Matthias had been the most popular of all the members of the House of Hapsburg,—the only one who had maintained an upright determination to fulfil his promises conscientiously.

Ferdinand II. the pupil and friend of the Jesuits, had in the year 1600 made a vow at Loretto, to restore the Romish Church to its ancient glory and power upon the ruins of Protestantism. To this object he subordinated every other purpose in life: with foreknowledge and intent he kindled the bloodiest of all religious wars; every means was in his sight justifiable to attain his purpose; cunning and cruelty, dissimulation and open force, the sword and the scaffold. His most faithful servant and councillor in Hungary was Peter Pázman, first a Jesuit and afterwards Archbishop of Gran—learned, adroit, eloquent, disinterested, the most dangerous enemy of the Protestants, but devoted to his native country, and more conscientious than his master on the throne, in the choice of the means by which he achieved his aims.

Niklas Eszterhazy soon joined Pázman, the grandson of an insignificant nobleman, but who soon distinguished himself by his talents, and rose step by step to the dignity of Palatine. He understood his countrymen perfectly; his judgment was cold and decisive; he loved his country, and regulated his passions; but he was especially the man of the moment, prompt to assist in escaping from every embarrassment. Selfish as he was, he never forgot the interests of his family, and amassed that immense property, by which his House was at a later period distinguished.

Opposed to these three champions of Catholicism, stood Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, as distinguished in the field as in the cabinet. A Hungarian like Pázman, a state smanlike Eszterhazy, and a Jesuit like Ferdinand himself, he devoted his life and his talents to the noblest idea—the maintenance of political and religious freedom in Hungary. It was not Protestantism, but toleration, for which he struggled; he supported Catholic churches in Transylvania, and did not even expel the Jesuits from his principality, although he took the field against their intrigues in Hungary.

Even before the death of Matthias, Ferdinand came forward openly against the Protestants; but his ordinances everywhere aroused rebellion. Count Thurn surprized him at the head of the Confederate Protestant Estates of Austria, Moravia and Bohemia, in the palace in Vienna, and was on the point of confining him prisoner in a convent, when the Dampierre regiment of cavalry, joined by the students and citizens of Vienna, rescued him and dispersed the insurgents. Ferdinand suppressed the Austrians, and after a short campaign, in the battle of the White Mountain, defeated the Bohemians, in 1620, who had declared him to have forfeited the throne. After the victory, the work of the executioner commenced; twenty-eight of the most distinguished Bohemians were publicly decapitated; thousands were thrown into prison; the property of the Bohemian aristocracy was confiscated, and distributed among the officers and favourites of the Emperor; the constitution of Bohemia was abrogated, and Protestantism suppressed.

In Hungary, the plans of Ferdinand were defeated

by the genius of Bethlen Gabor. Here likewise the Protestants rose, when Ferdinand, against religious liberty, began to circumscribe the Vienna Peace. The arms of Bethlen were victorious: the Prince was ever ready for war, but not less inclined to peace. Bethlen was elected King of Hungary at Neusohl, in 1620; but he received this act of the Diet only as a homage rendered to his efforts by the Hungarians, and would not be crowned, although the crown and three-fourths of the country were in his power. Ferdinand, in spite of his vow at Loretto, was compelled in 1621, to conclude a peace at Nikolsburg, which was ratified as the law of the land in 1622. The Peace of Vienna and Religious Freedom were again confirmed, and a part of Hungary was ceded to Bethlen. But as Ferdinand, taking advantage of the fortune of war in Germany, neglected to observe the articles of the Peace, Bethlen rose a second and third time, and by his skilful conduct of the war, won in Gyarmath and Pressburg new conditions of peace. In these wars, in which he never lost a battle in person, he seldom resorted to the assistance of the Turks; and after having concluded a peace, he also mediated the same continually between the Emperor and the Sultan. It appears too that he had formed the plan of uniting Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Eastern Hungary in one kingdom; but death overtook him in 1629, and [illegible]oted his efforts, by which Transylvania was raised up [illegible]

Bethlen's widow, Catharina, Princess of Brandenburg, had been secretly converted by the Jesuits to the Romish Church, and entered upon negotiations with Ferdinand to deliver up Transylvania to him: but upon the discovery of her intrigues, the rich and avaricious

George Rákoczy was elected Prince of Transylvania, who soon entered into an alliance as a Protestant Prince with Gustavus-Adolphus, King of Sweden, the champion of Protestantism. Ferdinand was obliged in 1633 to ratify the former articles of peace, and to recognize Rákoczy as Prince of Transylvania. In Hungary, however, Ferdinand's decree, by which the exports of the country into Austria were subjected to high duties, created great dissatisfaction; and as the Emperor was seeking during his own life to secure the succession to the throne for his son, afterwards Ferdinand III. he could not come forward here so openly against the Protestants, as he did in Bohemia and Austria. Ferdinand III. was at length elected and crowned King of Hungary in 1636; the old King died a few months afterwards, and his wise councillor Peter Pázman did not long survive him.

Ferdinand III. was actuated by the same principles as had involved his father in the interminable religious war; but he was more moderate, and not so obstinate. What Pázman had been to Ferdinand II. the Palatine Niklas Eszterházy was to Ferdinand III. He exhorted him frequently to adhere to his promises, to respect the Hungarian Constitution, and not by continual evasions to arouse the mistrust of the country. Peace could only be maintained by yielding; for Rákoczy, who even in Transylvania was rendered unpopular by his avarice and mistrustful character, was only dangerous in Hungary when the just grievances, which were submitted to the Diet, remained unheeded. But Esterházy's voice could not prevail; Rákoczy invaded Hungary in 1644; the war lasted until 1645, characterized more by skilful marches of the troops, than by san-

guinary battles; until at length Ferdinand, who also earnestly desired to bring the war in Germany to a close, yielded in Hungary, and again concluded a peace with Rákoczy at Linz, in which the conditions of the Peace of Vienna and Mikolsburg, were not only ratified, but extended.

The Palatine Niklas Eszterházy, who had especially contributed to the conclusion of this peace, died soon afterwards. But the fulfilment of the conditions met with many obstacles; the churches which had been taken from the Protestants were not all given back; and even those especially indicated by the Diet of 1647, which ratified the peace, could in many cases only be restored to the lawful proprietors by military force. The Catholic party, which had hitherto always been in the minority, began to obtain a majority in the Diet, and the discussions on religious matters became consequently more vehement, and the encroachments of the Romish Church more frequent; nevertheless peace was tolerably maintained. Nor did any regular war break out, even with the Turks; from time to time incursions into the neighbouring frontiers occurred, but the peace was not interrupted.

Like his predecessor, Ferdinand III. endeavoured to settle the succession to the throne during his lifetime. The Hungarians fulfilled his wishes: first the Emperor's son, Ferdinand IV. and upon his death soon afterwards, Leopold I. were in turn chosen King. Ferdinand himself died in 1657: his monument is the Peace of Westphalia, and that of Linz, by which he terminated the long war in Germany and Hungary.

The Government of Leopold I. continued for nearly half a century, from 1657 to 1705, a period of terror

and oppression to Hungary. And yet Leopold's personal character was not dissimilar from that of his ancestors; proud, narrow-minded, upright in private life, but in public life continually breaking every pledge and promise, like all the sovereigns of his House who had ruled Hungary before him. He was far less bloodthirsty than the fanatical Jesuit Ferdinand II; but under no King of Hungary in ancient times—not even under Sigismund—were so many scaffolds erected, so many distinguished Houses spoiled of their possessions, so many patriots banished as under Leopold; and all this because he had no Pázman, no Niklas Eszterházy at his side, who might have taught him to respect covenants, and to observe the oath which he had sworn to the Constitution. His only advisers were Germans and Bohemians—the Porzias, the Lobkoviczes, the Hochers, the Kollonics, enemies of the Hungarians and of all constitutional freedom. It is true that at a later period Paul Eszterházy, a Hungarian, the first Prince of that name, enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor, but only because he stifled every patriotic feeling within him, and became a willing tool of court intrigue.

The patriots, on the other hand, Nicholas Zrinyi, the hero of Zerinvar, Francis Wesselenyi, the Palatine, George Szelepcsényi, Archbishop of Gran, Paul Szechenyi, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, were unheeded, estranged from the court, and neglected; whilst the fiery and violent characters, Peter Zrinyi, Francis Nadasdy, Francis Frangipan, Emrich Tökölyi, and Francis Rákóczy, were systematically, as it were, goaded on to rebellion. Leopold's Generals, whom he employed to suppress these continual risings, and to en-

slave Hungary, such as Armpringen, Kobb, Caraffa, Spankau, and Heister, marked their career only by inhuman butcheries—their attribute was not the sword of battle, but the sword of the executioner. On the other hand, the Emperor had the good fortune in his war against the Turks to have three great Generals, one after another, who by their humanity won the hearts of the Hungarians, Duke Charles of Lorraine, the Margrave Ludwig of Baden, and Prince Eugene of Savoy. All the lustre which brightens the tragical government of Leopold emanates from these three names.

When Leopold ascended the throne, George II. Rákóczy, Prince of Transylvania, who had just then mingled in Polish affairs with the hope of ultimately attaining the crown of the Piasts, had espoused the party of the Swedish Carl Gustavus, against John Casimir, and supported him. Leopold considered that he must take advantage of this opportunity to attach Transylvania to his House, and aided the Polish King against George Rákóczy, whom the Sultan had also deposed from his principality, for having as a vassal of Turkey, meddled in a foreign war without being authorized to do so.

Rákóczy hoped indeed to succeed in conciliating the Porte, and consented that first his friend Rédey, and afterwards Barcsay should be chosen Prince, upon the latter engaging to resign his dignity as soon as George should regain the favour of the Sultan. But when Barcsay was acknowledged Prince, he began to strengthen himself in his dignity, and to persecute Rákóczy. Betrayed by his friends, attacked by the Turks, Rákóczy developed the whole energy of despair: he succeeded in inducing the estates of Transyl-

vania to elect him Prince a second time; he assembled armies, defeated Barcsay, and finally fell in a deadly struggle against the Turks in 1660 at Klausenburg. After his death, Leopold seized Rákóczy's Hungarian castles; the Turks on the other hand took Grosswardein; in Transylvania, John Kemeny, Leopold's *protégé*, was elected Prince; whilst the Turks placed upon the throne of Transylvania, first, Barcsay, and afterwards Michael Apaffy, upon the former being defeated by Kemeny, and in his third attempt to win the principality by Turkish aid, being taken prisoner and executed. Leopold sent his General, Montecucculi, to the aid of Kemeny; but he wasted his time in marches and counter-marches, and forsook the Prince, who eventually fell in battle against the Turks in 1662. Transylvania was devastated in this war, and the peace, which had lasted, with slight interruptions, for more than half a century between the Emperor and the Sultan, was *de facto* broken; every one felt that the decisive struggle between the Cross and the Crescent was approaching. And yet at this very time, Leopold alienated from himself the Protestants in Hungary, while the arrogance of his minister Porzia, and his General Montecucculi offended the Catholic grandees of the realm. On the other hand, Prince Apaffy already sought the friendship of Leopold, and, notwithstanding that he remained the *protégé* and ally of the Turks, he began to form those relations with him, which eventually after the death of the Prince, in 1691, caused Transylvania to submit to the dominion of Leopold.

The war with the Turks began in 1664. Niklas Zrinyi, equally great as hero, statesman, and poet, the grandson of the hero of Szigeth, attacked the Turks

during the winter, and caused them much serious loss. But Montecucculi, the enemy of Zrinyi and the Hungarians, did not support him; he traversed the country with his army, until at length he gave the Grand Vizir a signal defeat at St. Gotthard, whereupon the German ambassador of the Emperor, Reuminger, in an inconceivable manner, concluded an ignominious peace with the Turks. Leopold engaged to furnish a present to the Sultan of two hundred thousand florins, recognized the *status quo* as the basis of the peace, and promised to raze the fortress of Székelyhida.

The Hungarians were incensed at this peace, which was concluded without their assent; but they were still more exasperated by the extortions of Leopold's German mercenaries, "which so exhausted the people, that even the hated Turkish yoke seemed to be more endurable than the oppression of the Germans." In addition to this, the commanders were foreigners, while the Hungarians were everywhere neglected, and excluded from the Government.

Niklas Zrinyi perished in a hunt; public opinion ascribed his death to assassination. The grandees of the kingdom, including Wesselenyi the Palatine, Nádasdy the Judex Curiæ, Peter Zrinyi Ban of Croatia and brother of Niklas, Francis Rákóczy son of Prince George, at length conspired, and determined, acting upon the spirit of the clause of the Bulla Aurea, to assemble an army, and backed by this, to require Leopold to fulfil his coronation oath, surround himself with Hungarian councillors, and send the foreign mercenaries out of the country. It was agreed that recourse should not be had to arms, unless Leopold should disregard these just demands of the

people. But Wesselenyi, the skilful leader of this party, who considered only the interests of his country and of freedom, died suddenly. Zrinyi sought to employ the conspiracy for personal objects, and succeeded in engaging the powerful Counts Frangipani and Tattenbach in his plans; but they were all betrayed, taken prisoners, and, with a violation of all legal forms, executed at Wiener Neustadt in 1671. Nádasdy shared their fate, although no charge of high-treason could be brought against him; but he was the richest Count in Hungary, and this decided his fate. His possessions were confiscated, and given to Paul Eszterházy, the brother-in-law of the Count, as a reward of his loyalty. Rákóczy purchased immunity from all punishment with four hundred thousand florins. After the suppression of their first conspiracy, the work of the exceptional tribunals began: the prisons were filled, the German mercenaries under Spork plundered the possessions of the compromised parties, as well as of many others. Lobkovicz thought he could now carry out his plans with reference to the abrogation of the Hungarian Constitution; he distributed German troops over the country, and imposed heavy taxes, without summoning a Diet.

The counties complained of these arbitrary proceedings; and the Archbishops and Bishops Szelepcsényi, Széchenyi, Pálffy, and Gubasóczy, conjured Leopold to retract his commands, and to respect the Constitution, as the Hungarian nation prized their liberties more than life. But all remonstrance was vain; Lobkovicz persisted in his plan. An insurrection raised by the Protestants in Upper Hungary, who were now openly persecuted, was easily suppressed by German

troops, and used as a pretext formally to abrogate the Hungarian Constitution in 1673, to appoint Gaspar Ampringen, Grand Master of the German Order, civil and military Governor of Hungary, and to institute everywhere Inquisition Courts against heretics, and Courts-martial. The German Generals now traversed the counties in company with Jesuits, despoiled the Protestants of their churches, expelled the clergy, and caused those who offered any resistance to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, the forfeiture of their property being of course never forgotten. Three hundred Protestant clergymen and schoolmasters were banished without any legal proceedings; seventy of them would not yield to this exceptional process, and demanded the institution of regular proceedings, in order to prove their innocence; they were despatched unheard to Sicily, to the galleys, where they were subsequently freed by Admiral Ruyter.

The Protestants now fled in crowds to the Turks, who granted them protection, and practised reprisals against the German mercenaries, who fell into their hands. Prince Lobkovicz at this time unexpectedly fell from power; but Hocher, who succeeded to his place, prosecuted the projects of his predecessor all the more zealously as, himself a *roturier*, he hated the Hungarian aristocracy. This man, who could boast neither family nor fame, and had risen merely through obsequious flattery, respected neither freedom nor historical rights.

Leopold indeed made an attempt to conciliate Hungary; in 1676 he summoned the most influential Hungarians of his party to Vienna, with a view to effect an understanding respecting the pacification of the coun-

try; but these men recognized as the only means to effect this object—respect for the Constitution, the election of the Palatine, and the removal of the German troops. To this, however, Leopold would never consent; on the contrary, he gave the command of the troops in Upper Hungary, after the death of the humane Straffoldo, to the German tyrant Kobb. Another insurrection naturally followed. Emrich Tökölyi placed himself at the head of the malcontents, and made continual advances, in spite of the frequent vicissitudes in the fortune of war. He was ever ready to open negotiations of peace, which were frequently frustrated by Hocher: at length in 1681 there was truce. Leopold was obliged, at least in part, to yield: he again summoned a Diet, permitted the election of a Palatine, which fell upon Count Paul Eszterházy, and abolished the illegal taxes. He would, however, on no account allow the grievances of the Protestants to be the subject of debate in the Diet, and there was consequently no prospect of peace, especially as Leopold refused his assent to the resolutions of the Diet, that the crime of high-treason should be accurately defined, that the exceptional tribunals should be abolished, and that the possessions which had been confiscated by these courts should be restored to their owners.

The war began anew in 1683; the Turks advanced against Vienna, which was heroically defended by Günther von Starhemberg, and delivered by King Sobiesky and his Poles and Charles of Lorraine, with German infantry and Hungarian Hussars, who defeated the Grand Vizir. An amnesty which Leopold granted, began to quiet the public mind. Tökölyi himself desired to enter into negotiations, but Leopold sent his

proposals to the Turks, who dragged the unfortunate man as a traitor in chains to Adrianople. Still, Helena Zrinyi, the daughter of the beheaded Peter, who after the death of her first husband Francis Rákóczy, had married Count Tökölyi, defended the rock-fortress of Munkács for two years. When at length she surrendered the castle to the troops of Leopold, the latter shut her up in a nunnery. She, however, succeeded in making her escape in disguise, and joined her husband, who was kept prisoner in Turkey; but her children were detained, and educated under strict surveillance by the Jesuits.

After the relief of Vienna followed a brilliant succession of victories against the Turks. The armies of Leopold, in which, after the amnesty, many of Tökölyi's former officers served, stormed the fortress of Buda in 1686, under Charles of Lorraine; totally defeated the Turks at Mohács in the following year, captured Esseg and Peterwardein, and went to Transylvania, where Prince Apaffy, under the protection of Leopold, maintained the shadow of a government from this time until his death. But the glory which these victories shed upon the government of Leopold, was darkened by the barbarity with which the Imperial General Caraffa in Eperies, treated the principal Protestants in Upper Hungary, condemning them to be tried by exceptional tribunals, and to be put to death with the most horrible tortures. The brave Ludwig, Margrave of Baden, one of the heroes in the Turkish war, at length interceded for these persecuted people, and Leopold closed the bloody Tribunal of Eperies, which is famed in history under the name of "*Lanienа Eperjessiensis.*"

Leopold at length saw that this exceptional state of affairs in Hungary could not continue, and he now sought to attain his ends by legal means. In 1687 he summoned a Diet, the principal task of which was to abrogate the right of armed resistance in the clause of the Bulla Aurea, to abolish the right of electing a King, and to settle the succession to the throne on the male line of the House of Hapsburg, according to the law of primogeniture. The Diet accepted the royal propositions; whereupon Leopold granted a full amnesty, from which Tökölyi was alone excepted, and conceded the right to the Magnates of instituting the succession of primogeniture. The Palatine Count Paul Eszterházy, who contributed greatly to these measures, was nominated Prince, and Joseph the son of Leopold was crowned as the first hereditary King; a reconciliation was re-established between the Court and the Hungarians. Nevertheless this was not complete; the religious grievances of the Protestants increased daily, and Leopold would not abandon his system of persecution against them. His Generals meanwhile gained new and brilliant victories; the Margrave of Baden advanced up to the limits of Albania; Transylvania, after the death of Apaffy, yielded homage to Leopold, upon his promising to maintain the Constitution; and Prince Eugene of Savoy, the valiant hero and friend of the Hungarians, annihilated at Zentha in 1697 the army of the Grand Vizir. But in order to achieve this victory, he had acted contrary to the command of the council of war in Vienna; and he was therefore obliged to repair to Vienna, to justify himself. When called upon to deliver up his sword, he did so with these words, "It is still red with the enemy's

blood." But, however pedantically Leopold adhered to forms, it was too repugnant a measure, even to his prejudices, that the greatest General of his time should be brought to account *for a victory:* he invested the Prince anew with the chief command. By the mediation of England and Holland, the Peace of Carlowicz was now concluded with the Sultan, in which the Turks renounced all dominion in Hungary and Transylvania, and only retained the so-named Banat.

Encouraged by the brilliant issue of the war, the absolutist court-party resumed their plans with regard to Hungary; the Constitution was repeatedly violated, no Diet was assembled, new taxes were imposed, the country was inundated with German troops, and the Protestants were incessantly persecuted. The people were ripe for insurrection; a leader only was wanting—it was the false policy of Leopold himself, that placed one at the head of the malcontents. Francis II., Rákóczy, the step-son of Tökölyi, grandson of the beheaded Peter Zrinyi, and great-grandson of the Prince George I. Rákóczy, who had concluded the Peace of Linz, resided at Vienna, dressed in the German fashion, and kept aloof from the Hungarians. He was surrounded by traitors, who took advantage of every accidental word, every wish, every complaint he uttered at his unhappy position, to bring suspicion upon him; he was purposely irritated, his letters were intercepted, and when it was thought that sufficient facts against him were collected, he was arraigned before a commission as guilty of high-treason. After remaining six months in prison, he succeeded in effecting his escape: persecution had made him a rebel against his will. When in 1703 he first raised the standard of rebellion,

this movement was despised at Vienna; the Hungarians were incessantly oppressed. Alexander Károlyi, who had gained some advantage over Rákóczy, was badly treated, because he insisted upon the Emperor's respecting the Constitution, and he was eventually placed under arrest at Karschau. He escaped, and joined Rákóczy. The whole of Upper Hungary rose; a part of Transylvania declared for Rákóczy, who, although a Catholic, fought like Bethlen Gabor in the cause of religious and political liberty. Leopold, taken by surprize, sought to open negotiations: the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Paul Széchenyi, well known as a liberal-minded patriot, was selected for this purpose, but only until General Heister with his plundering German mercenaries entered the country. The frightful extortions of these hordes alienated the Hungarians still more; in spite of the advantages which Heister had obtained, Károlyi's hussars advanced up to the walls of Vienna. Leopold was again obliged to treat for peace, and again he promised to respect the constitution; but he was no longer believed. He died in 1705, and the curse of the Hungarians followed him to the grave: he had ruled forty-eight years, and yet had not attained his object—the Hungarian Constitution survived him.

Joseph I., the son and successor of Leopold, was a noble prince, who endeavoured with sincerity and earnestness to repair the faults of his father; no sooner had he ascended the throne than he proclaimed an amnesty, recalled the proud and cruel Heister, and sent a proclamation to the insurgents, which bore the full stamp of his amiable character. Rákóczy, an equally noble and high-minded man as Joseph, was also desirous of peace; but he considered himself only

as the head of the confederate Hungarians; and the latter, who had been so often and so cruelly deceived by the House of Hapsburg, would no longer listen to any terms of accommodation. Counts Alexander Károlyi, Daniel and Antony Eszterházy, Simon Forgách, and Niklas Bercsenyi, persuaded him to enter into their views. Joseph now accepted the mediation of England and Holland which had been offered previously; in 1708 he assembled a Diet at Pressburg, and was ready to conclude an honourable peace. The negotiations failed chiefly from this cause, that Rákóczy's party demanded independence, the free election of the Prince for Transylvania, and the guarantee of the European Powers for the liberties of Hungary. The war was therefore continued; Rákóczy suffered several defeats in 1709, and Count John Pálffy, the patriotic Ban of Croatia, renewed the offers of peace on the part of Joseph. Rákóczy did not accept these, but his general Károlyi did, and a peace was concluded in 1711 at Szathmár, with the co-operation of the ambassadors of England and Holland. The conditions were a general amnesty, even for Rákóczy, (provided within three weeks he, either personally or by proxy, tendered the oath of allegiance),—the strict maintenance of the laws affecting religion and the Hungarian and Transylvanian Constitution,—and the restoration of the confiscated estates.

Rákóczy did not fail to recognize the magnanimity of Joseph, who as a conqueror concluded a peace so advantageous for the vanquished; nevertheless he declined to accept the conditions offered: accompanied by a few friends, he repaired first to France, and afterwards to Turkey, where he lived at Rodosto until 1735, in the

enjoyment of princely honour. Joseph himself did not live to see the conclusion of the peace; he died in 1711. His noble nature and his humane policy were not inherited by his brother, who reigned in Hungary as Charles III., and as Emperor under the title of Charles VI. The latter indeed confirmed the peace of Szathmár, but Leopold's desire of absolutism continually rose within him. As, however, he had no son, and desired to transfer the crown to his daughter, Maria Theresia, the good-will of the Hungarian nation was too important to allow him to follow the counsels of his Vienna Ministry, and to violate the Constitution of Hungary.

The Constitution of Hungary was modified in an important manner by the three Diets which were held during his government. In the warlike period of the last two centuries no organic laws, with the exception of the laws affecting religion, had been introduced; now when peace was concluded, the institutions of the country had to be adapted to the new times. The changes were effected in the spirit of the eighteenth century. In the first place, the rights and liberties of Hungary were ratified anew, and boards were instituted, in the place of the independent dignitaries of state, who now presided over these boards. The Hungarian Board of Chancery was established in Vienna, since it was regarded as a *fait accompli* that the monarch, in spite of all his promises, should not reside in Hungary. In the country the *Consilium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum* was instituted, which was to carry on the government: four district courts in Hungary, and one in Croatia, were in future to decide the most important civil causes: the Royal Table in

Hungary, and the Banal Table in Croatia, were appointed courts of appeal for civil and criminal cases, which were invested with the power not only of judging according to strict formal right, but also of taking cognizance of matters in equity. But the most important point was the introduction of a standing army, and with this naturally of a new system of taxation. The nobility refused direct taxation; the peasants had alone to bear the taxes, which could not be raised high, and the Court, to indemnify itself, recruited its revenues by an oppressive system of imposts between Hungary and the Austrian provinces, thereby stifling the industry of the former country. The injustice of the nobles met with its reward; from this time the country was isolated, and naturally remained behind in cultivation and industry.

In the year 1723 Charles attained in Hungary the object of his efforts,—the acceptance of the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, or the recognition of the law of female inheritance, first for his line, then for that of his elder brother Joseph, and lastly for all the descendants of Leopold I. The Hungarians accepted these royal proposals without opposition, but at the same time re-asserted of course the rights and liberties of Hungary. The crime of high-treason was now more accurately defined, and an end was put by law to arbitrary arrests upon suspicion of high-treason. On this occasion also the permission was granted to the untitled nobles to institute the succession of primogeniture; but neither these nor the magnates, who had possessed this right ever since the time of Leopold I., made any frequent use of the privilege: equal partition

was more adapted to the customs and usages of the nobles.

Whilst all these reforms were carried out in the interior, Charles, in the year 1716, renewed the war against the Turks. Prince Eugene, and his friend John Palffy, defeated the latter at Peterwardein and Temesvar, and in the following year at Belgrade; he took Servia, and Wallachia Minor as far as the Aluta, and sought to unite again the ancient dependencies of the Hungarian kingdom with these. But the peace of Passarovicz (Posárovacz) arrested his victorious career. Charles was a dry, practical Prince, who had a horror of any grand projects; he contented himself with having completely driven the Turks out of Hungary, and with possessing in Belgrade the key of Turkey. But he effected much in the way of internal amelioration; he constructed roads to the coast of Hungary, repaired the harbour of Porto Re, and granted to Fiume the privileges of a free port; for at that period, it was not yet known that a free port, where prohibitions exist, favours only smuggling, and not commerce, and forms but a very weak corrective for the prohibitive system. In the last few years of the government of Charles a war broke out anew with Turkey; but Charles had not the courage to entrust the command of the army to an Hungarian, although John Pálffy was generally considered the best general of the school of Prince Eugene. The incapacity of the Generals Königseck, Wallis, Suckow, and the diplomatist Neiperg, lost all the advantages which the sword of Eugene had won, and the peace of 1739 restored to the Turks Bosnia, Servia, with the important fortress of Belgrade, and Wallachia Minor.

Scarcely had Maria Theresia, the beautiful and clever

daughter of Charles, ascended the throne in 1740, than all the continental Powers of Europe stood forth against her, and contested her right of inheritance in the German provinces. The enthusiasm and devotion of the Hungarians saved her throne. The Queen, with true womanly tact, took advantage of the vanity of the nation by readily carrying out all their wishes. She appointed Hungarians to the most important posts, she never neglected to mention with gratitude the sacrifices and valour of the nation, and by manifesting confidence, she awakened a mutual confidence; thus during her government of thirty years she succeeded in those objects which the bloodthirsty tyranny of her grandfather had been unable to effect. The constitutional instincts of the Hungarians were gradually lulled asleep; Protestantism was weakened by frequent conversions to the Romish Church, German manners were introduced into Hungary, the high aristocracy became fixedly attached to the court, and yet all the while Maria Theresia remained the universally loved and adored Queen of the Hungarians. For Diets she had no affection; under her the constitution of the country was maintained outside the walls of the Diet. She ordered the decrees of the highest courts to be collected and confirmed by a commission which consisted of the members of the highest court; and these judgments had thenceforth the validity of law. Further, when in 1764 the Diet refused to introduce a bill for the regulation of the relation of the peasant to the landowner, which should distinctly define his rights and duties, she introduced by an absolute decree her "Urbarium" into Hungary, which in spite of great faults and defects, was yet very liberal for that period, and contained many elements of progress; indeed, on this account, notwith-

standing the illegal mode of its introduction, it was repeatedly recognized provisionally by subsequent Diets. But Maria Theresia did not again summon any Diet, and the dignified office of the Palatine, the guardian of the constitution, was not again filled up; yet, notwithstanding all this, the nation retained their attachment to her. She was the most statesmanlike sovereign of the House of Hapsburg.

Her son and successor, the celebrated Emperor Joseph II, the first ruler of the House of Lorraine, had not these qualities. He was a perfect specimen of a German philosopher,—imperious, intolerant of opposition, respecting no historical rights, boldly overturning the ancient order of things, but not possessing the energy necessary to carry into effect his *doctrinaire* schemes, and consequently spreading confusion and disaffection throughout the land. He would have been an ornament to any professor's chair, but for this very reason he was not the man to occupy a throne. Nevertheless these very peculiarities gave him a great name among the unpractical German men of letters: they extolled him and admired his principles, without considering how petty and pernicious were the results of his government. As soon as Joseph, in 1770, attained to power upon the death of his mother, he quitted the path of government which Maria Theresia had so successfully pursued. He refused to be crowned King in Hungary, or to recognize the constitution, and he introduced a German administration into the country. All the county congregations, all the courts and government colleges protested against this contempt of the fundamental pacts between the King and the Hungarians, and reminded him of the

promises, the kingly oaths, and conditions of peace which his forefathers had made and observed. But Joseph had no inclination for historical rights; his want of public morality had already shown itself in the partition of Poland In vain therefore he proclaimed toleration, in vain he studied to govern according to the principles of the law of reason: his ordinances were not respected, because he had shaken the public rights to their foundation: the municipal authorities everywhere resisted him. To maintain his consistency, Joseph thought himself compelled to abolish the municipal institutions, and to introduce a system of centralization; but he found no tools ready to forward his aims, none of the upright patriots served him in Hungary: his officials were foreigners, or men of no note or authority, and the administration was despised. To this failure were added his reverses in the war with Turkey, which he had commenced in the most inconsiderate manner: an armed insurrection had broken out in Belgium, and one threatened likewise in Hungary. Joseph, broken down in spirit and bodily health, saw at length, after a government of ten years, that all his efforts were vain: upon his death-bed he retracted all the ordinances which he had issued, with the single exception of the Toleration Act. When the news of his death, in 1790, was spread abroad, bonfires and illuminations were kindled from one end of the country to the other: his officials were compelled to fly, and his ordinances (even the wisest, as, for instance, that relating to the measurement of the land) were burnt.

Joseph's brother, Leopold II., under whose wise administration Tuscany had risen to a flourishing state,

succeeded the philosopher on the throne. The ideas of the French Revolution had excited people's minds throughout Europe, and were shaking thrones. But Leopold, in this crisis, attached the Hungarians more firmly than ever to his House. His first act of government was, to assemble the Diet, to recognize the Constitution of Hungary, the freedom of the country, and its independence of every other state or people, also to assign the right of introducing, abrogating, and interpreting the laws exclusively to the Diet and the assent of the King: the country was never to be governed by imperial patents; the King himself was not allowed to interfere in the administration of justice, nor, in cases of high-treason, to arraign the accused before any other court than the royal Table. Lastly, the edict of toleration issued by Joseph, which was indeed more limited than the Peace of Vienna, of Nikolsburg, and of Linz, which did not prevent Charles and Maria Theresia from enforcing frequent encroachments by the Romish Church, was made the law of the land. Leopld was received and crowned in Hungary with enthusiasm; his son Alexander was elected Palatine; everything augured a brilliant future, when he suddenly died, in 1792, probably by poison—the effect of female jealousy.

Francis I., the son of Leopold, was a selfish, narrow-minded, distrustful prince, an enemy of science and knowledge, and so vulgar in his tastes that he would not even learn to speak correct German. But his very Viennese dialect, and his coarse sallies against education, made him popular with the lower classes in Vienna. In Hungary he could not gain the attachment which had followed his father. At the very

beginning of his government, and after the mysterious death of his brother, the popular Palatine Alexander, who lost his life at an exhibition of fireworks in Laxemburg, numerous arrests took place. The Abbot Martinovics, Count Sigray, Messrs. Laczkovics, Szent Mariay, and Hajnóczy, were executed for high treason: others were sentenced to long imprisonment, and among them the most distinguished authors, upon the allegation that they had been implicated in a great conspiracy. The sentences alone were made known; the proceedings against these conspirators were carried on with locked doors, and regarded as State secrets.

As long as the French war lasted, Francis regularly held Diets in Hungary, which continually voted subsidies of men and money; but when the Estates, in 1807, raised their voice against the profligate administration of the finances, and declared in favour of the principles of free trade,—when they further, in 1812, refused to sanction by their assent the State bankruptcy of Austria,—they became troublesome to the Vienna Ministry; and after the formation of the Holy Alliance, Francis sought, like his ancestors, to get rid of the inconvenient Hungarian Constitution. He had soon forgotten the loyalty with which the Hungarians remained faithful to his throne, and how, when Napoleon, in 1809, promised them separation from Austria and a King for themselves, the Hungarians tore in pieces the proclamation, and did not listen to the French. In the first place, no more Diets were summoned; the regular elections in the counties were no longer permitted; the Lord-Lieutenants filled up the vacancies in the municipal administration by provisional nominations; in 1816, a voluntary subsidy was

demanded from the nobles. The nobles in most of the county congregations refused this; but notwithstanding, at the close of the year 1822, when Constitutionalism was also attacked in Italy and Spain, the taxes were raised without the consent of the Diet, and a levy of recruits was ordered. All the counties protested; they saw clearly that it was not a question of taxation, but one of principle; and as the right of granting taxes alone constituted the guarantee of the constitution, this measure excited the bitterest indignation. Francis at first endeavoured to execute his will by force of arms, but his attempts were frustrated by the passive resistance of the counties. He therefore again summoned the Diet in 1825, reconfirmed the constitution, and thenceforth ruled with more careful respect for the legal forms: yet he remained hostile to any reform; in his mind the words progress, education, and revolution were completely synonymous. But the spirit of the times will not admit of being resisted for any long continuance: in 1832, a reform Diet, the first for a century, began to revise the single parts of the Hungarian Constitution. The majority of the Deputies were liberal, but the majority of the magnates and the government obstinately opposed any amelioration of the condition of the peasants, and any change or reform in the feudal institutions. Francis died during the session of this Diet, unlamented by his people, to whom he bequeathed, as a remembrance of his government, a considerable state-debt, notwithstanding that Austria had made three national bankruptcies under the Emperor Francis, which were especially ruinous to the middle classes.

After 1835, the stubborn, narrow-minded Archduke Louis and the Doctrinaire of absolutism Prince Metternich, governed in the name of the imbecile Ferdinand. Louis believed that the art of ruling consisted in postponing the solution of every important question; and Metternich felt too well that he was not in a position to govern strong nations; his main object therefore was to keep down and repress the national development, or, where this was no longer possible, to incite one people against another, favouring and persecuting each party in turn, in order to destroy the strength of the people by continual party struggles.

The third statesman who exercised an important influence upon the government of Hungary, was the Palatine Archduke Joseph, a man of great cleverness, a penetrating understanding, and with remarkable power of dissimulation. He entertained a true love for Hungary, which he looked upon as his native country, and was the man of quiet progress, but not possessed of the energy to make his counsels listened to in Vienna.

The Diet which assembled in 1832, and continued its session uninterruptedly till 1836, fulfilled with difficulty its task of revising the Urbarium of Maria Theresia, and determining the rights and duties of the peasants. The court opposed all propositions relating to a full emancipation of the peasant, and would not consent to any attack upon the feudal institutions. The Chancellor, Count Reviczky, who was an ardent friend to the Hungarian nationality, but only a half-liberal in his principles, was replaced by the reactionary Count Fidel Pálffy, a man without talent, who did not even understand Hungarian. He imme-

diately caused arrests to be made, and political lawsuits to be instituted. B. Wesselényi, Kossuth, Ujhazy, Balogh, Madarasz, and Count Ráday, were among the number of the prosecuted. Those highest courts forgot their position and dignity so far as to allow the violation of the legal forms in reference to the defence; when, therefore, the sentence of Wesselényi, Kossuth, and some young men, found guilty of high treason, was published, the indignation of the whole country was excited against the Government and the highest courts. Count Pálffy, Count Cziráky, and Mr. Somssich, the Chancellor, and the Presidents of the highest courts, had not the courage to await the assembling of the Diet: they entered the German-Austrian State Service. Count Antony Mailath was made Chancellor, —pliant, liberal, eloquent, and full of promises. His administration lasted from 1839 until 1844, and was rendered important by an amnesty in Hungary, the introduction of the statute laws concerning bills of exchange, and the recognition of religious equality. At this time the differences between Croatia and Hungary began to grow bitter: the Croatians wanted in future to keep the Protestants out of their country; and their Deputies, who in society constantly spoke Hungarian, demanded never to speak any language but Latin in the public sessions. Moreover they did not at that time strive as yet for the use of the Croatian language, but for the maintenance of the Latin: it was the last flicker of the conservatism favoured by the court, which was naturally obliged very soon to yield to a national movement.

Count Mailath was overthrown by intrigues: in his place succeeded Count Apponyi—young, proud, and

obstinate, from want of experience yielding to Metternich, attached to centralization, and on that account opposed to the Archduke Joseph, who defended the municipal institutions of Hungary. The Archduke died after having been Palatine just fifty years: his son Stephen was appointed Statholder in Hungary. Enthusiastically received by the nation, he had the best intentions and desire to reconcile the interests of his native country with those of his family. In November, 1847, he was elected Palatine. In the Diet, the Opposition in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of Kossuth obtained a majority: the Magnates were almost equally divided, but the greatest share of talent was evidently on the side of the Opposition, who were headed in the House of Magnates by Count Louis Batthyanyi. A general reform of the Hungarian Constitution was in progress: the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the nobles was abolished, and the municipal institutions and representation of the towns was in course of revision, when the news arrived that the French Revolution had broken out, and France had become a Republic.

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

MEMOIRS

OF A

HUNGARIAN LADY.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF HUNGARY.

A VIENNESE by education, I knew very little about Hungary, before I went there in the year 1845, for in my childhood I heard of it only in the lessons I received in geography; if any trace of it occurred in my historical studies, this was so slight as not to strike the memory.

At school, where I spent ten years, there chanced to be several Hungarian pupils; the other children considered them proud, for they kept apart and sometimes evaded the rule, which imposed the French language on all of us, by addressing one another in their native tongue. We listened with mixed feelings of distrust and ridicule, as we fancied that this strange dialect could not have

any real meaning, and was only to be understood by conventional signs,—or some kind of intuitive knowledge.

When I entered society I occasionally met Hungarians; but they were almost always ladies who had been educated in Vienna, and gentlemen who had resided there for years. They were distinguished by no peculiarity, unless perhaps the latter by their mustachios, which they never gave up, even in the time when the imperial Francis, the grandfather of the present Emperor, prohibited all kinds of beards to persons in civil office. The Hungarians alone were privileged by Spanish etiquette itself to preserve that masculine appendage, at all times and occasions.

We frequented several Hungarian families who had their home in Vienna. Amongst them there predominated more hospitality with less ostentatious display, than existed in most houses where company was received; their balls offered far more amusement, the young men danced with gayer spirits, conversed in a more agreeable manner, and behaved with more courtesy to the young ladies than the gentlemen in other drawing-rooms, who generally considered that they were conferring a great favour on their partners when they languidly walked a quadrille.

I recollect, as a child, having seen the Hungarian

deputation who came to congratulate the Emperor Francis on his having reached the fortieth anniversary of his reign, and likewise the Hungarian noble guard, and the maids of honour who appeared in full costume on the occasion of the marriage of King Ferdinand V* with the Princess of Sardinia. Afterwards, when I read the Thousand and One Nights, the beautiful Hungarians in their brilliant magnificence appeared to me to embody the gallant Arabian champions, and splendid oriental dames.

At the annual festival on Corpus-Christi Day,† the manly countenances of the Hungarian noblemen, as they were proudly borne by their richly caparisoned horses, might have been distinguished at a considerable distance.

These radiant pictures soon passed from my imagination. I seldom went to admire such sights, and I may say, that for years my thoughts had

* The late Emperor, Ferdinand I. of Austria, King Ferdinand V. in Hungary, had been crowned King of Hungary in 1830, during the lifetime of his father Francis. This had been determined in Vienna as a matter of precaution, to prevent the discussion of any other political subject under the European influence of the revolution in France, which had happened some weeks before the opening of the Diet at Presburg.

† On this day the dazzling procession in Vienna is headed by the Emperor and the Empress, who are followed by the Archdukes and Archduchesses, by the dignitaries, the clergy, and the garrison, all in full attire.

quite as little to do with Hungary as those of any Viennese. Though but at a few hours' distance from the frontier, that country very seldom formed the topic of conversation in fashionable circles; and when this chanced to happen, it was referred to in no more definite terms than were applied to those unknown Chinese realms, which are severed by insurmountable walls from the rest of the world.

It was not until the year 1845 that my attention was particularly drawn towards Hungary, by frequent discussions around me, which were then carried on with uncommon vivacity. These controversies, quite unusual in a drawing-room, were called forth by polemic articles in the Augsburg Gazette on the *Védegylet*, literally translated: *Association for Protection.* I inquired from a person who took an active part in the animated conversation what that meant? and was answered, "A ridiculous demonstration against Austria! The Hungarians want to wear their own manufactures, and as they fabricate as yet nothing but blue cotton stuffs, the ladies attire themselves in such materials for parties, although they always before appeared in Viennese velvet and silks.*

* Later I learnt the cause of this assertion. Some ladies of the rich aristocracy had occasionally worn cotton dresses, when the silk manufactures which really existed in Hungary, could not sufficiently supply the increasing demands for them.

This seemed a strange fancy; but I could not understand why it was mentioned in Vienna with such passionate animosity, and considered a crime.

I sought to solve this riddle, and read some of the articles in question. The champion of the Hungarians expressed himself with more calm dignity than his adversary, who did not refrain from personal attacks directed against his opponent.

From the whole I made out, that the aim of the accused association was to compel the Austrian Government by indirect means, as the direct ones of reiterated remonstrance from the Diet had failed, to alter the regulations of the tariff, which were extremely prejudicial to Hungarian trade, as they prevented the export of national productions to Austria by the imposition of severe duties on some, for example, on joiner's work 100 per cent, and by the total proscription of others. In the latter case was wrought iron, so that the inhabitants of Galicia were obliged to get their scythes from Styria, instead of buying them in their own neighbourhood, in the county of Gömör, where quantities of them were produced.

In direct contrast to this intolerance, the Austrian manufactures were freely imported into the kingdom of Hungary, where English and French

commodities had very little circulation, on account of the high import duties put upon them.

The Hungarians claimed a fair application either of the principles of free trade, or of those of protection; and protested against a system, which at the same time stopped the foreign markets, and was oppressive to national industry.

I understood nothing about political economy, but this reasoning seemed no algebraic problem. What I most wondered at, was to hear about manufactures in Hungary; where I had been told, that uncultivated plains spread in all directions of this unpeopled land, in which only here and there forlorn mortals wandered, covered with sheep's-skin, where only single towns arose like oases in the deserts;—a land of hidden treasures, jealously kept by the fiend of barbarism, which the civilizing German could redeem for mankind only, by driving the Hungarians back to the borders of the Theiss,—the Mississippi of European civilization.*

My curiosity was not less excited when a gentleman asked my mother permission to introduce the Hungarian writer of the above-mentioned articles to our house; "But," said he, "you

* This is the assertion of the renowned German political economist, F. List.

must excuse the very coarse cloth of my passionately rigid Magyar." Can there be a Hungarian, thought I, who writes German so well, and is so fanatic! He cannot be young to have acquired so perfect a style, in a language not his own, and he must be very whimsical to retain such extravagant fancies.

The portrait of the individual I sketched was of course elderly, haggard, yellow, and, with his patriotic costume, very bear-like indeed. I found it bore no resemblance to the youthful, fresh-complexioned original, who soon afterwards appeared before me in a black evening dress, as civilized as any disciple of French fashion. Some months subsequently this gentleman became my husband.

In spite of the brighter colours with which my feelings depicted the country that soon was to be my home, I had viewed it but in the vague twilight of distant acquaintanceship; and was hence delighted and astonished when crossing its threshold, it burst upon me in the unexpected magnificence of its radiant morning.

Probably but few of my readers are unacquainted with the Rhine from Düsseldorf to Mayence. There is no traveller who does not gladly remember the beautiful German river, fringed by hills richly covered with green vines, and grey remnants of ancient castles, and by gay little

towns with sombre gothic cathedrals. A peculiar charm of poetry illustrates these river banks, and every poet, whose way leads through these scenes, is anxious to add a fresh laurel to the glorious wreath of the Rhine.

So much is the Rhine celebrated; yet but little attention granted to the Danube, which from the heights of Passau down to the plains of Hungary is still more romantic and varied with splendid scenery than the favourite of tourists. But the poetry and romance that form the main attractions of the feudal ruins of the Rhine-land, and engrave their memories so deeply in our minds, are, in the countries of the grandest stream in Europe, buried in dead silence.

Poets have not yet attempted to stir the treasures of historical recollections, which repose in the waves that wind their course from Donau-Eschingen to the Black Sea. The straitening cords with which Austrian censorship pinions the wings of genius, to disable it from flight, prevent the free movements of the poet and the historian. The Rhine re-echoes with innumerable lays; the Danube resounds with no such melodies.

More than once I had followed the course of this river, from Ratisbonne to Vienna, and had been highly pleased with the surrounding garlands of

dark pines, varied by the cheerful beech and graceful vine. The sumptuous and venerable Dome of Ratisbonne, the Walhalla, a monument of modern eccentricity; the shattered Castle of Dürrenstein, where the imprisoned Richard Cœur de Lion recognized the voice of his minstrel, Blondell,—the princely monasteries of Mölk and Göttwei,—the boisterous boiling of the waves of the Danube breaking there, through and over invisible rocks, called the Strudel and Wirbl, the attractive town of Linz; all these formed in my mind, a wonderful picture illustrative of the Lay of the Nibelungen, the latter part of which refers to this very scenery.

But on the other side of Vienna I thought every interest was exhausted, and every beauty effaced. When the vision of Hungary rose, it always was the fertile, treeless, untracked, uncivilized plain, through which the Danube streamed, like the Volga through the Asiatic wastes. What was, therefore, my astonishment, when, swiftly carried by the steamboat from Vienna to Pest, we hardly had time to mark all the traces of events connected with the borders, which so transiently passed our eyes.

My husband, who, in common with most Hungarians, had passionately studied history was far better acquainted with the banks of the Danube than were the fashionables of Vienna, for

whom, according to the Austrian system of education, the book of history was closed.

After the Praterau (meadows of the Prater), which is the finest park in Vienna—had disappeared from our glance, my husband called my attention to Kaiserebersdorf, a village, once the head-quarters of the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus, during his expedition against Austria, when he took Vienna, and made it for several years the capital of his realm. Later, in 1809, it became the head-quarters of the Emperor Napoleon, previously to the eventful battles of Aspern and Wagram, in which the honour of the day was due to the Hungarian regiments.

Who could then have believed that, after a few years, but one English mile from this spot, near the villages of Mannswörth and Schwechat, the steeples of which we could perceive, Austrians would be sent to fight against Hungarians!

Farther down, in the borough of Petronell, Count Traun's stately castle stands in the midst of his park. This was once the site of the Roman Carnuntum, one of the main stations of the Roman fleet on the Danube, a post important to keep the Markomans in check, and a favourite abode of the philosophical Emperor Marcus Aurelius. On the column of Antoninus in Rome, we still see this Roman plantation represented with remarkable

colonnades extending to the river's margin, with temples and warm baths; and above them the theatre, and the stream enlivened by vessels.

But the Roman *chefs-d'œuvre* are destroyed. One highly vaulted arch, popularly designated as the Heidenthor (the gate of the Heathens), and several single anticaglias of bronze, discovered sometimes by the plough, are the only remnants of ancient splendour. Save the passing of the daily steamboat, the river is forlorn, owing to the Austrio-Hungarian custom-line, which some miles lower down, stops every attempt at commercial intercourse on the Danube, between the frontiers of Austria and Hungary. No vessel coming from Hungary, not even the steamboat, is permitted to land passengers in any places, except Hainburg or Vienna, where the custom-houses are. When Count Traun travels home from his estates in Hungary, he may not descend from the steamboat to his castle, but is obliged to go by land, or to submit to the circuit by Vienna.

At a small distance from Petronell, a high tumulus reminds the traveller of the mighty dominion of the Huns and their King Attila, whom the modern writers treat merely as a destructive Asiatic chief, though tradition, from the remotest north throughout all German nations, invests him with the noblest generosity and the most praise-

worthy forbearance, as well as with that invincible bravery which the French and Italians ascribe to Charlemagne, and the Welsh to King Arthur.

Doubtless, Attila is the father of telegraphic communication in Europe. From both his residences, from his moveable tent on the Theiss and the imposing Etzelburg; Acquincum in bygone ages, now Budé on the Danube;) he had placed in all directions, as far as his sway extended, watchful guards, who communicated with one another by signs, and thus conveyed tidings with the utmost celerity, to Attila's residence. The tumulus, near Petronell, is one of these observatories mentioned by annalists.

Farther down, on a steep ascent raised over the Danube, we see the ruin of the Castle of Hainburg, once the Austrian border-fortress against Hungary; and on the opposite side on the perpendicular rock, under which the March disembogues into the Danube, we behold the shattered remnants of the hill-fort of Theben, the border-fortress of Hungary.

The ruin of the Castle of Hainburg, forms at present the park of an estate, which twenty years ago belonged to Countess Lipona, the unfortunate Queen Caroline, well known as the widow of Murat, the chivalrous and ill-fated King of Naples.

Close to the Danube stands the small manufacturing town of Hainburg. Its middle-age feudal walls now serve as barriers against smuggling, Hainburg being the largest establishment of the Austrian Treasury's tobacco fabrication, where the Hungarian leaf is artificially prepared for the consumption of the imperial provinces. It is macerated so as to receive a particularly disagreeable smell, by which it infallibly may be distinguished from the unspoiled tobacco; so that through the whole empire every custom-house officer, blessed with a keen sense of smell, may directly detect those who venture to smoke contraband tobacco, and is thus enabled to apprehend the culprits, if they should not happen to justify themselves by means of a few shillings.

The stronghold of Dévény (Theben) was far more picturesque previously to 1809, when the greatest part of this fine ruin was wantonly blown up by the French. A little octangular tower, on the extreme pitch of the rock, however, was spared, and gracefully decorates the brilliant landscape.

According to tradition, Dévény was, in the times of the Slavonic King Swatopluk, (before the Hungarians possessed the country,) the palace of his daughter Devojna, who dwelt there as one of a band of Amazon virgins, and who, when forced to marriage

by the will of her father, threw herself from the tower into a watery grave.*

In the period of the religious wars in Hungary, Botskay, the leader of the Protestants, had occupied Dévény in 1606; and when the Austrians, under cover of night, sent to Posony (Pressburg) a small fleet with troops, it was set on fire from the height of Theben. The imperial army found its grave in the waves, and instead of numerous forces, the deserted flaming ships testified that King Rodolf's attempt to raise his banner over the March had failed.

About four English miles from these, on the right bank of the Danube, rests the decaying tower of Wolfsthal, where Ferdinand of Austria was welcomed by the solemn deputation of the party that elected him King of Hungary, A. D. 1526, and received from him the sacred promise, to uphold the constitution and the rights of the kingdom.

Mountains drawn in soft lines, and covered with woods and vineyards, present themselves to the view between Theben and Pressburg, which extends from the descents of the Schlossberg to the levels of the Danube. The town has no classical style of architecture to boast of; but the romantic attractions of its situation and its neighbourhood claim attention, as well as the historical remi-

* Amazon Princesses are a peculiar feature of Slavonic tradition,—Libussa, Wanda, Wlasta, Devojna.

niscences with which it is connected. It is the town where the sovereigns of Hungary are crowned, —where the King, coming with the festival procession from the coronation, swears to the Constitution in the market-place, in the face of Heaven and in the presence of the assembled Diet and the people.

On the outskirts of the town is the petty artificial elevation in sight of the Danube, where the King on horseback swings the sword of St. Stephen towards the four regions, thus to express symbolically, that he would for ever defend the integrity of the country from whatever side it might be attacked. At Pressburg too the Diet used to meet. There, likewise happened the remarkable incident so illustrative of Hungarian loyalty, when Marie Therese in September, 1741, pressed by the greater part of Europe, turned to Hungary for protection.

The Bavarians were already in Linz,—the Prussians in Silesia,—Prague, the capital of Bohemia, just about to join the enemy,—when the youthful Queen betook herself to the assembled representatives, described her position with deep eloquence,* and spoke her full conviction that her

* The Queen spoke Latin. From the remotest periods to the year 1836, both the Latin and the Hungarian tongues were used by the representatives. It was during the diets of 1796, 1802, 1807, and 1811, that in courtesy to the Palatine Archduke Joseph, whose knowledge of Hungarian was imperfect, the house

safety rested on the fidelity and gallantry of the Hungarians.

Amongst the assembled peers and deputies were several who, under Rákóczy, had fought against the House of Austria, besides a considerable number of sons and grandsons of patriots who had been persecuted in the times of the cruel Leopold I. At this moment, however, every one forgot past wrongs, and all exclaimed unanimously: "Our life and blood for our Queen Marie Therese!"

Universal Hungary rose in arms, and met the enemy.

This grand scene of valiant enthusiasm so highly gratified her Majesty, that she regretted her princely consort had not been a witness to it, and therefore, it was to be exhibited again in presence of the Archduke Francis and the foreign ambassadors. To give a sufficient cause for this repetition, the Queen took in her arms her infant son, the Archduke Joseph, and commended him to the assembled diet. Once more the "vitam et sanguinem" thundered through the hall, but it was no more the first burst of feeling—it was a political performance got up for the occasion.

of peers spoke Latin. In 1836, the law decided that henceforth the Hungarian should be the language of the diet, granting an exception only to the Croatian Deputies who continued to speak Latin. In 1844 the law decreed, that in the diet the Croatian members should likewise use the Hungarian tongue, but should be allowed six years more to learn it.

The Queen's Hungarian troops and generals saved the throne for her and for her successor,—the infant she had commended to the diet; but after he possessed the imperial diadem, his policy aimed to destroy the Hungarian constitution, and to enforce a central Austria. Therefore in Hungary a feeling of bitterness is connected with the memory of the grand scene of 1741, from this ungrateful requital of Joseph II.

Below Pressburg, the borders of the Danube exhibit a considerable depression; on both sides the small Hungarian plain is visible, with fertile pasture-grounds and arable land, frequently intersected by branches of the mighty river.

Proceeding for several hours, we distinguished in the distance on the Szent Marton, Mons Pannoniæ, the Benedictine Abbey, founded by St. Stephen; in the Middle Ages the centre of theological learning in Hungary.

Hence it was that Arpád, the Duke of the nomadic Hungarians, after he had conquered Svatopluk, surveyed the whole country and found the wide plain, commanded by the mountain so agreeable, the pasture so rich, and the water of the Danube so sapid, that he resolved to settle here, and to prepare a new dominion. In remembrance of this, the mountain is still named Mons Pannoniæ.

In the abbey church, the marble seat of the

King of Hungary, St. Stephen, is still shown, and the people ascribe to it wonderful sanative powers. On the 20th of August, a multitude of catholic pilgrims meet there, and after having confessed and heard mass, they succeed one another in the seat, in the firm conviction that by this they shall be healed of rheumatism and sciatica. Sometimes the procession is so numerous, that more than one of the patients must wait two or three days, till his turn comes to enjoy the red marble seat.

We rapidly passed the town and the fortress of Komárom (Komorn). Its low position does not in the least convey the notion of its being impregnable. Never has this fortress been subdued by arms, and full in sight stands on its wall, on the west side, the statue of a virgin clenching her hand to the foe, in contemptuous defiance.

On the left bank we soon reached Zsitvatorok. There, under the reign of Leopold I., the first favourable treaty of peace was made with the Turks. On the right lie the vineyards of Almás and Neszmély. In this latter place, known by its excellent vines, died King Albrecht, the first Archduke of Austria, who by his marriage with the Queen Elizabeth, 1337,* received the crown of Hungary. He could not accustom himself to

* Elizabeth was the daughter of Sigismund, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Emperor of Germany.

the Hungarian climate, and died of an indigestion, caused by his intemperate partiality for water-melons. It seems that the Austrian Princes, up to our days, dread this fate of their ancestor; for, regardless of the pledge reiterated by all the sovereigns of Hungary to spend a part of every year in the kingdom, not a single one of them has kept that promise for these last three hundred years.

The Vértes Mountains (Shield Mountains) touched our horizon. In their neighbourhood, the Hungarians so severely routed the troops of the German Emperor, Henry III., that these, flying into the mountains, threw away their shields to facilitate their speedy escape, and it is to this incident the Shield Mountains owe their appellation.*

Below Neszmély begin the extensive quarries of red marble, on the margins of the Danube. In the village of Piszke every door-post, every threshold is marble; but this does not prevent the place retaining a wretchedly poor aspect.

Soon again the banks become elevated, and from a steep height the newly-erected cathedral of Esztergom (Gran) commands the view of the surrounding

* This event took place in the year 1050, when the Emperor wanted to constrain the Hungarians to accept St. Stephen's nephew, Peter, (called the Germans) as their king, and to yield Hungary as a fief to the German Empire.

country. It is an immense building, in which the whole population of the small town of Gran might comfortably reside, and a stupendous cupola crowns the whole. The structure of this, the largest of all Hungarian churches, is a perfectly original one, which may a good deal puzzle the student of the history of art. On the whole expanse of the globe, there are but two monuments of architecture that belong to the same style—the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, and the pointed steeple at the end of Regent Street. Possibly this is a particular Sclavonic specimen of a future art, but certainly the founder of the Cathedral of Gran, the Prince Primate, Alexander Rudnay, has not furnished the world with a specimen of classical discernment.

According to the original plan, a splendid palace for the Archbishop and a seminary should have been added to this ungracefully fantastic temple, and on each side should have been ranged residences for twenty-four canons; but the enormous revenues of the archbishopric did not suffice even for the achievement of the dome. Judging from this, as well as from the effects of recent commotions, little chance remains of our seeing this primitive conception completed, and the admirers of the beautiful, who travel down the Danube, will be spared further mortification. It must, however,

in justice be admitted, that from a convenient distance, the cupola, with the golden cross glittering in the boundless space, has a good effect.

Close to Gran, St. Stephen in the year 1000, conquered the Duke of Sümegh Kupa, the chief of those Hungarians, who, in fight with Christianity and royalty, wielded their swords in defence of their inherited heathen faith, and their ancient institutions. St. Stephen's triumph made the Hungarians a European people, and incorporated them into the family of nations united in Western civilization.

Previously to the battle, the king was girded as a knight, in observance of the customs of the west, by the leader of his army, the German Knight Wencelin, of Wasserburg. It was not only Christianity, but with it feelings of chivalrous honour, and ideas of Western civilization which St. Stephen adopted, in contrast to the Russians, who accepted indeed Christianity, but remained strangers to the notions of European honour, to zeal in the research after truth, and to the struggle for not material possessions only, but moral interests.

The bridges of boats form a peculiar feature in the country of the Danube. At Pressburg, Komorn and Gran we see such bridges the only means of communication between the opposite banks, for

nine months of the year. During three months, one may walk over the ice, or when the frost is not hard, try one's fortune, by tottering on uncertain boats through flakes of ice.

The majestic stream did not pass under any yoke from Vienna down to the sea; Trajan's Bridge, on the Servian frontier, could not resist the wild impetuosity of the waves. Recently, the Hungarian spirit of enterprise, assisted by English ability and German capital, joined Bude to Pest by the erection of the suspension-bridge, a wonderful masterpiece, which comprehends the largest width ever compassed by an arch.

From Gran to Pest the landscape around is radiant with beauty.

Trachyt cones, overgrown with bushes, rise to a considerable height perpendicularly over the surface of the waters, which struggle in manifold windings through their bed, straitened by the mountains, and lead with every change of direction to a newly striking view. Sometimes we behold the stream enframed with a mountain scenery; at other times our eyes may follow its course to a long distance; the mountains recede and give way to expanded dales.

The finest ornament, however, of these parts, are the ruins of the Castle of Vissegrad. Like Theben, it is one of those fortified places built by the

Slavonians before the Hungarians came into the country.

In the first epoch of our kings descended from Arpád, Vissegrád is only known, as the prison of King Solomon, a frivolous tyrant, detained by his illustrious cousin, St. Ladislas. Tradition says, that the King, from above the tower where he was secluded, cursed the people that had forsaken him, and gave them up to eternal discord.

But in the 14th century, under the reign of the brilliant Anjous, Vissegrád was the royal residence. The soil at present sterile, which from the summit of the rock, extends downwards, was in those days a blooming garden. On the upper flat of the height magnificent tournaments were held; and the now silent ruins were the abode of the most exalted monarch of his period. Louis of Anjou, was King of Poland and Hungary, Sovereign of the Principalities of the Danube, ruler and suzerain of Naples; his dominion spread from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Black Sea; his influence to the Strait of Messina.

At the Court of Charles Robert,* the first of the

* Charles Robert's father, was Charles Martell, the friend of Dante, immortalized by this stern poet of eternity in the Paradiso, under the name of the King of Hungary, although he was only a pretender to this crown, and never received it in reality.

Anjous, who bore the sceptre of Hungary, Vissegrád was the scene of a dreadful tragedy. Clara, maid of honour to the Queen and daughter of Felician Zach, one of the most influential Barons and high dignitaries of the realm, fell a victim to the profligacy of Casimir, Prince of Poland, brother of the Queen, who, blinded by affection for her relative, was an accomplice to this atrocious crime.

When Felician became aware of the terrible truth, he hurried into the royal hall, to avenge with blood the honour of his daughter; but Casimir had already fled; the Queen was alone at her banquet, with her little son on her knees. Felician rushed towards her with his sword; she had instinctively lifted up her arm to protect the child against the blow; thus her head escaped, but her hand was mutilated. The Prince's tutor, Poháros of Kapivár, "the hero of the goblet" (probably a surname) disarmed the raving father.

Charles Robert punished this act of despair in the most horrid manner. Felician was cruelly executed; the unhappy Clara, with all her relatives to the fourth degree, were also dragged to the slaughter; and the remaining members of the family of Zach were robbed of their estates, and exiled from the land of their ancestors.

The Diet was assembled and called upon to confirm this punishment; but in spite of the formal

sanction, given to these horrors, the beautiful Clara still survives in the memory of the people as the innocent victim of the vindictiveness of Charles Robert, whose wise commercial regulations, no less than his active solicitude for the welfare of the community are, in Hungary, now only remembered by the historian.

Certainly there is no error in the observation of a German poet—that the recollection of alarm and cruelty lasts much longer than the remembrance of benefits; the tree retains the name that has been engraved with sharp iron in its stem, but does not tell the name of him who has planted and watched it with tender care.

At every step which we advance towards the capital of the country,—the united towns of Bude and Pest—recollections multiply, which lead us back to the era of the Turks,—of the civil wars,—with the cruelties and devastations committed in Hungary by German generals, and their cowardice in the Turkish battles. Prince Eugene of Savoy, Prince Charles of Lorraine, Schwarzenberg (the ancestor of the present Austrian minister), and the Margrave of Baden, are the only illustrious exceptions to the above-mentioned ravagers.

Close to the metropolis, we again find mighty remains of Roman genius in the aqueducts of Acquincum, which likewise formed a station of the Roman

fleet, on the Danube. It was situated at one English mile above the present dock-yard, belonging to the Danube Steam-boat Association. In former ages, Attila's castle stood there, highly renowned in the tales of the North as the scene of the last catastrophe in the Nibelungenlied—lay of the Niebelungen—the most primitive and powerful epic of Teutonic genius.

The dragon's conqueror, Siegfried, King of Burgundy, who, like the Greek Achilles, is invulnerable, except at one particular spot of his body, is murdered on the Rhine, by the command of his brother-in-law; and his incalculable treasure, to which a curse is attached, is plunged into the waves. His widow, the beautiful Krimhild, then marries Attila, and asks her brother to a festival on the Danube. They come down to the Etzelburg, where, during the royal banquet, at Krimhild's instigation, a contest arises; Attila's brother, Blödel, is killed, the Princes of the Rhine and their retinue are attacked; they defend themselves heroically, and all perish at last under the ruins of the hall, then being consumed by flames; but Krimhild, who jeers one of the dying men (the murderer of Siegfried) likewise falls by his hand.

This is Krimhild's dreadful vengeance; a tradition which we meet under various shapes, throughout all the German races, from Iceland to the Alps.

But in Hungary every trace of this tale is effaced, or may be has never existed. The Hungarian Attila is totally different from the Etzel of northern tales; yet there is no doubt that both historical traditions spring from the same root.

At a small distance from the height on which the Etzelburg stood, and where at present we see the military hospital Kleinzell, a rivulet disembogues into the Danube; there, in the dale, according to the chronicler, is the burying-place of Arpád, the first of the Hungarian Dukes, who had reared his tent, as the nomades used to do, on the isle of Csepel, where his horses grazed.

The situation of the united towns of Bude and Pesth, opposite to each other, on both banks of the wide stream, is one of the most picturesque imaginable.

On the interminable sand-plain, to the left, we see the busy mercantile Pest, spreading daily in every direction. Elegant palaces form a border to the Danube; but the lack of steeples and buildings of the Middle Age is characteristic. It is a wholly modern, not a monumental town. The other side is commanded from the summit of a steep ascent, by the fortress-town of Bude, with several irregular streets and many churches, which cause it to present a striking contrast to its successful rival and neighbour.

The fortress-height is surrounded by other hills, below which rest quietly the more modest parts of the city, overlooked by villas and gardens—the summer abodes of the wealthier citizens of Pesth.

We get a view of Vissegrád, where was the seat of the brilliant Anjous; next we behold Bude, resplendent once, in the glory of Matthias Corvinus. His court in the latter end of the fifteenth century, greatly outshone all other royal residences in Europe. Heroes and scholars were honoured with particular distinction by the King, who corresponded with the pride of Italian learning, and for years granted his hospitality to Martius Galeotti, remembered by the English reader as the astrologer in Sir Walter Scott's "Quentin Durward." This man was highly prized at the Hungarian court; not as in France at a subsequent period, for his astrological pretensions, but for his profound knowledge of the Roman classics. He bitterly regretted having exchanged Bude for the dreary atmosphere of the sternly superstitious Louis XI. Galeotti's work, "De Dictis Gestisque Matthiæ" is a rich mine of character, drawn from the romantic life of the great Hungarian sovereign.

The whole of Europe recognized in him the most powerful support and guardian of Christianity against the Mohammedans, and his western

neighbours, Podiebrad of Bohemia, and the German Emperor, Frederic of Austria, who experienced the ill consequence of offending the King of Hungary.

In the history of that realm, the sandy plain around Pest, designated as the Rákos, is of the most critical importance. For centuries it was the habitual place of meeting of the Diet; the lower nobility and the representatives of the towns encamped there in tents; whilst the high nobility deliberated with the monarch in the Castle of Bude. With these localities innumerable tales are naturally connected; but there are especially two of them that are ever alive in the memory of the people: the execution of Ladislas Hunyady, and the election to royalty of his brother Matthias.

John Hunyady, the very eminent Governor of Hungary, during the minority of Ladislas Posthumus (son of Albrecht of Austria, who died at Neszmély), fell in the glory of victory, a few weeks after he had relieved Belgrád, the border-fortress of the kingdom, which had been besieged by the Turks. His son Ladislas, a youth of twenty-four years, remained in possession of the fortress.

This important place in the hands of the most popular man of the country, who in spite of his youth, had by his exploits already highly distinguished himself, was viewed with a jealous eye

by the King, who sought to gain possession of it by artifice. To receive it personally from Hunyady, he went there, accompanied by German troops, but when he and his retinue had passed over the drawbridge, this was drawn up, and the German soldiers were refused admission, in accordance with the ancient custom, which forbade a border-fortress to be occupied by a foreign garrison. The King saw that Hunyady was perfectly safe in the midst of his warriors, and therefore resolved to get rid of him by assassination.

Owing to this, Ullrich, Count of Cilly, the Sovereign's councillor, and his uncle by the mother's side, began an angry discussion with Ladislas Hunyady, and as if overpowered by passion attempted to strike him down. But a golden ring on the young hero's little finger averted the blow, and Count Ullrich was killed by Hunyady's friends, who hastened to his rescue. Ladislas himself directly went to the King, communicated the fatal tidings, and entreated forgiveness, which was granted with gracious semblance; Hunyady's mother, however, the widow of the lofty governor, knew but too well the monarch's inherited character, and did not rest until, in sacred token of sincere pardon, he had received the sacrament, and divided the consecrated wafer with her son.

After several days, during which splendid tourna-

ments had celebrated the presence of the royal visitor, he returned to Bude, where he was soon followed by Ladislas Hunyady, who, in compliance with the King's desire, was to be married to Mary, the lovely daughter of the Palatine Gara,—thus to end the inveterate feud between the two mightiest families of the country, the Hunyadys and the Garas, who were the Hungarian Montagues and Capulets.

Magnificent festivals were to precede this marriage, and both the sons of the deceased governor appeared at Bude, contrary to the express wish, specially mentioned in the last will of their father, (who was conscious that his name and popularity would prove too dangerous a heritage), that they should never stay together at one place.

They had hardly entered Bude with their attendants, when they were arrested, by the King's order. Matthias, the younger brother, escaped from prison by the help of his friends, and was brought to Bohemia to Podiebrad, who held there the same position, which had been occupied in Hungary by the great Hunyady; but Ladislas was, without trial, doomed to death.

Clad in bridal garments he marched to the place of St. George, where he was to be executed; and so overpowering was the consternation, and the sympathy for the young hero, that even the executioner's steady hand trembled, and after aiming

three blows he was still unable to sever the head from the trunk. Ladislas concentrated his remaining strength, and said, "In accordance with my country's customs I am free. After the third stroke, the executioner has no power over me."

The assembled people crowded to accompany him home in triumph, but exhausted by the loss of blood, the unfortunate youth slipped, wrapped himself in his purple cloak, and fell to the ground, where the cruel man, whose arm had trembled on the scaffold, presently dispatched him.

A few months afterwards, the King died suddenly at Prague, on the eve of the day, on which he was to be united to a French Princess. It was the popular belief that he had been poisoned by his mistress, the jealous Agnes, who divided an apple with him, cut with a knife poisoned on one side.

The throne of Hungary was vacant, and the people met on the Rákos to elect anew their royal liege. The high dignitaries of the realm assembled at Bude, and the intrigues for the interests of the neighbouring princes were zealously managed; but a sudden frost unexpectedly restored the communication between the two banks of the Danube; Hunyady's adherents, forty thousand in number, led by Szilágyi, Matthias's uncle, encamped on the ice of the river, and when their cry of "Hurrah for King Matthias" reached the walls of Bude, the

Barons thought it best to accede the crown to John Hunyady's still minor son. A deputation was sent to Bohemia to receive the youthful King; Podiebrad, however, did not allow the departure of Matthias, aged but fourteen, before he had seen the princely boy married to his daughter Kunigund, in Hungary afterwards called Catherine.

The romantic history of King Matthias can find no place in these pages. He became and remained the most popular of all Hungarian Kings; and, to the present day, the people, when pressed by injustice, exclaim: "King Matthias is dead, and justice with him."

I have delayed longer on the passage from Vienna to Pesth than may perhaps seem necessary, unless that journey should prove gratifying to any one acquainted with the historical soil over which I passed. It was full of joyful interest to me, as my first introduction to my new fatherland, in which I have spent several years of most perfect felicity; and I involuntarily look back to it with all the regret of a reluctant farewell.

CHAPTER II.

CASTLE SZÉCSÉNY.

THE manor, where we habitually resided, was sixty English miles from Pest. Its castle was situated in a fertile valley, varied by gentle slopes, and commanded the whole country round, that seemed to belong to the park; which was, in fact, separated only by a deep rivulet from the adjoining pastures, that were enlivened with groups of cattle and extended to the borders of Ipoly (Eipel). The river just named was crowned by a semicircle of eight villages, whose steeples gave friendly greeting from afar. In the back-ground arose dark mountains, of volcanic formation, marked on the horizon by noble outlines, in fine contrast to the verdant dale and the gentle hills, which were covered with golden crops and luxuriant vines.

This lovely picture impressed the eye as a parental blessing impresses the heart; it was impossible to resist its mildly exalting influence. The castle of Szécsény, raised on the ruins of the ancient fortress of that name, was a stately building, of the 18th century, and stood out boldly on a terrace, shaded by large groups of lemon-trees and roses; from whence, by two divergent flights of steps, was the descent into the park. We found the castle and its dependencies—and, in fact, the whole estate, which we had only acquired in 1846—very much neglected; but the chief ornament of the park, the venerable centenary trees, elms, poplars, beeches, oaks, and pines, still maintained their ancient dignity, and their very shadows softly covered the inequalities of the marshy soil around. As these aged trees survived, we had no great difficulty in restoring the park, in a comparatively short time, to all its former grandeur.*

* Had the previous proprietor of the park listened to the advice of some of his friends, who thought he should have felled the timber, it would doubtless have been impossible to repair the damage. So it seems to me, when in modern states the vigorous stems of an ancient aristocracy are still found to exist, the true politician will take care to preserve them. The boughs may be easily pruned, which obstruct the open view or impede the growth of lower trees, but when the trunks are once felled, no wisdom can create them anew. This we see in France and Germany. Nevertheless,

A cool ascent, sheltered by densely interlaced branches, led to the entrance of a small flower-garden, in the fragrance of which our children frequently enjoyed themselves, vying in the freshness of health with the blossoms around.

In this attractive spot stood an elegant conservatory, which united the modern castle to an old tower; one of the remnants of the ancient stronghold occupied there by the Turks in the seventeenth century. Three such towers had outlasted the ruined walls. This one had been used by the Moslems for the performance of their religious rites, and, by its circular structure, was well adapted to the purpose. The light falls through a window, which opens on the magnificent landscape without; itself an eloquent prayer of nature.

In later times that miniature mosque was considered a pleasurable retreat. We consecrated it as a Protestant Chapel,—the only one in our borough; for the majority of its Hungarian population was Catholic. But on the other side of the Ipoly, there was a Slovak colony of Protestants, who were

with such examples before their eyes, despotism and bureaucracy are at this very moment destroying in Hungary and Sicily a vigorous national aristocracy, under pretext of re-establishing order, whilst in fact, they are sowing the seeds of fresh and more terrible revolutions.

settled in several villages; and it was from these that most of the people came to attend our service.

The second tower, at the extreme end of the park,—decorated less picturesquely than the first, with garlands of ivy, not frequently seen in Hungary,—had a very different destination. It had been the jail, where used to be confined the prisoners of those feudal lords, whose manorial courts were endowed even with criminal jurisdiction. We did not prize this privilege; and therefore, as soon as we possessed it, surrendered it into the hands of the County Authorities, who could detain the culprits in the extensive establishment, (on the principle of solitary confinement,) which the nobility of the County had erected by voluntary contributions. To us it was a great comfort to be able to dispense with the painful duty of sending the transgressors of the law into our dismal dungeon; and we thought it much better employed as the cellar of the poor family to whom I gave, as an abode, the upper part of the tower, which had been the residence of the turnkey.

The third remaining tower of the ancient fortress was turned into a granary. It had a Middle Age aspect, and its firm, stout walls were better adapted for preserving the grain from damp, than the dry,

but less solid, buildings, of greater size, designed for that purpose.

The tower, in which on holydays more than a hundred people joined in our worship, could be easily ascended to its very summit. There, protected by a gallery, we could view with pleasure the wide plains on which John Sobiesky had appeared as a chivalrous deliverer of Austria, in the year 1686.

The castle of Szécsény had been one of those strongholds which often lay within the circle of contest, at the time of the Turkish wars; passing and repassing from the hands of the unbelievers into the possession of the Hungarians.

When Sobiesky, after his victorious relief of Vienna, returned through Hungary, to Poland, after several engagements, he reached the neighbourhood of Szécsény, then occupied by the Turks. The rightful proprietor was a young widow, the Countess Forgács; who, confiding in the well-known character of the heroic Pole, wrote a letter to him, entreating, that on his way he would expel the intruders from her heritage; and, as the protector of widows and orphans, restore it to her. This request was so perfectly adapted to Sobiesky's romantic turn of mind, that without delay he hastened with his army to Szécsény,

stormed the castle, took it after a determined resistance, and restored it to its lawful owner.

To celebrate this feat, and to confer honour on the chivalrous Prince, the young widow gave a banquet and a ball in halls already half destroyed by fiery showers. The bloody day was closed by a night of festive gaiety, and the next morning awoke, no longer with the roar of cannon, but with blessings of the thousands who escorted the King on his homeward road.

From our principal eminence we distinguish two high-roads, one to the west, the other to the north-east, each conducting to a considerable market-town, of which the former is Balassa-Gyarmath, the seat of the County-courts; the other Losoncz: neither is at any great distance from the estate. This proved most useful as regards the sale of the produce, especially as Losoncz is much frequented by purchasers from the mining districts—(that neighbourhood being the California of Hungary, and producing considerable quantities of gold and silver)—and from several of the northern parts of the country, which are deficient in corn—a crop abundant with us.

Behind the walls of the flower-garden rose a well-proportioned monastery. Its exterior conveyed the impression of much more comfort than could be expected from the abode of mendicant

friars, such as the Franciscans. Before the reign of Joseph II. monastic orders were much more numerous in Hungary. That sovereign, however, abolished them, and confiscated their property. In our days we find there, as the most predominant conventual communities, Benedictines, Monks of Prémontré, Cistercians, and Piarists (*ordo scholarum piarum*), all of whom are connected with the Catholic institutions for instruction and education. Next come the Misericordians, respected as attendants on the sick (their cloisters are hospitals), and lastly, we have the professional begging-friars, Franciscans and Capuchins. The Franciscans, in poorer parishes, often have to perform curate's duties; in other places they are the schoolmasters. They are not allowed to have any property; they live on alms, both occasional and regular, seeking them in the following manner.

From every convent a monk is yearly sent, at the periods of the harvest and vintage, to travel about in his district, and to request support from the lord and the peasant. Everything is received in the name of the Order:—money, crops, wine, fowls, and especially great numbers of geese,—the peasant's most customary gift; so that in autumn, hundreds and hundreds of these birds may be found in the convents. The goose, variously dressed, is not without relish for the well-fed

monks; others are sold to the Hungarian Jews, who, out of respect to the Mosaic law, to avoid hog's fat and lard, substitute goose-grease. This, in part, also takes the place of butter, which is permitted to them only in certain combinations.

Our Franciscans were such as undertook parish duties; yet they were not liberally provided for by the people, who held them in no particular respect, and rather unwillingly allowed them their scanty tribute. This agrees so ill with the hospitable character of the Hungarian peasant, that its causes must be traced to the corporation itself, and its relation to the people. In our case, I perceived two reasons for it—the first a general, the second a local one. Our monks, (as is customary with the ignorant servants of hierarchical dogmas), were, in theory, not seldom savagely fanatic. Their sermons raved about a dark gulf of unknown eternity, only lighted up by the fires of hell, which roasted the unbelievers, whose head and front were the Protestants, the most dangerous of all rebels to the "*sola salvifica*" Church. This fierce monk of the pulpit, with the anathema against all outlaws of Catholicism on his lips, on the very same Sundays, but a few short hours after service, showed himself in strange contrast as a jolly friar at our table, freely partaking of the Protestant's meal, without any visible care as to the risk of his

soul. Though in dangerous contact with heretics, he was without the least apparent anxiety of Christian zeal, to save us from irretrievable damnation. On the contrary, he listened with obvious interest to conversations and agreeable anecdotes, which might do very well as pastime, but were certainly no themes for austere reflection. Nor was it with reluctant civility that the Franciscan gave us the benefit of his presence; for he assured us, with profound humility, that it was a great happiness to him to be invited to the dwelling of the lord of the manor. It is no individual exception of which I speak, but simply a specimen of the whole corporation, every member of which cordially availed himself of all repasts that were offered, in whatever quarter, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, or Greeks. In this respect their tolerance was boundless.

This could not fail to strike the Hungarian peasant, whose hospitable and phlegmatic temper is as little accessible to intolerance, as his common good sense can remain unconscious of the obvious contradiction of the real and the ideal. They therefore accept the assertions of their clerical instructors with as little faith as they place in the remedies of their doctors, to whom they apply as seldom as possible, dreading the expensive apothecary and the bitter medicines far more than the disease.

The local cause of indifference and even contempt

for our Franciscans, arose from one of the Order having obviously transgressed his limits, when, as chaplain to the former lord of the castle, he assumed sway over the whole household, and sustained it by very worldly intrigues. Not only those under his immediate control, but everybody in the neighbourhood, with and without any concern, began a guerilla of indefatigable gossip against the chaplain-steward, who was driven out of his intrenchments, and at last surrendered at discretion, leaving no other legacy to his brethren than an inveterate unpopularity. Indeed, the public, (with the instinct which gives to the *vox populi vox Dei* the weight of a verdict), felt only too distinctly the invisible bondage put upon it by monastic association, and therefore extended to all of the Patres its well-founded aversion to one. Such impressions are sometimes effaced towards an individual of the unpopular class, by personal intercourse; but they still remain in force against the brotherhood at large.

The broad front of the castle, aided by wings, expanded upon an airy court, which was made cheerful by pretty parterres, affecting an elegant exclusiveness; for it was divided from the grounds of the adjoining borough by lofty iron gates. These, however, chanced to be planned on the principle of a ladder, and therefore could be scaled without the least trouble; as one

of our young servant-girls practically showed, for being passionately fond of dancing, she always managed to get out by the locked gates, with as much ease as by the open ones, whenever the electrifying sound of a fiddle struck through her ears to her feet.

Most fortunately we never experienced the least inconvenience from our perfect free-trade of communication with all our curious neighbours, from the friars down to the gipsies, who daily and hourly visited, court, garden and park.

The borough, with whose inhabitants we were in this uninterrupted contact, derived its origin from the times when the fortress, delivered from the Turks, had been abandoned by its garrison, who became the nucleus of the little town. Their magistrate still bore the title of Hadnagy (*lieutenant*) instead of *mayor;* and young and old were rather proud of their borough, and thought themselves ill-used when short-sighted ignorance chanced to mistake for a village what they complimented themselves by considering a town.

The population consisted of from three to four thousand; a fourth of these were Jews, and about a hundred gipsies. There was a market, which, though on a small scale, was attended by many of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. The place had a pleasant aspect. There were

shops of all kinds, certainly not like those in Regent-street; indeed, with a twentieth part of a London mizzling fog, the imperfect pavements would have vanished not only from the sight, but likewise from the foot of the pedestrian; for much less moisture than the English coachmen call *damp*, sufficed to mash the loam into mud. My Viennese silk shoes were therefore soon exchanged for stout leather boots, more peasant-like than lady-like in appearance.

The majority of the traders were Jews, who were more active in Hungary perhaps than anywhere else, owing to the natural propensity of the Hungarian peasant to have some one to deal for him, while he prefers to bask as much as may be in the comfort of oriental ease. This, united to the good-humoured turn of mind of the Hungarian people, affords to the Israelites a position much preferable to that which they are grudgingly allowed in Germany. In Hungary, it is only where the German element predominates among the merchants in the towns, that the antipathy to the sons of Judah is retained. The latter, when poor, are generally very dirty; when rich, often arrogant; but always industrious and religiously beneficent.

I found them so with us. Most of them were poor, but this did not prevent their association for the mutual support of those who most needed

assistance; and, in spite of adhering firmly in their habits of life to their exclusive Mosaic forms, they readily joined with Christians for the furtherance of charitable objects. Though in constant friendly intercourse with our people, they are still as strikingly distinct from them there as anywhere in the world. In their well-conducted synagogue I involuntarily fancied myself transported back to the Galilee of the Old Testament. Doubtless nothing conveys more vividly the indestructible vigour of a nationality upheld by religion, than the historical phenomenon of the Jewish existence.

When I first came into frequent contact with our Jews, I was greatly puzzled by their numerous personal names. As is well known, the Jews had in their ancient realm no family names. For their individual designation, they only added their father's name to their own; this was customary, not only with the Israelites, but with all Shemitic nations, and even with the Greeks; whilst the Egyptians and Romans of a more aristocratic stamp, prized family appellations and pedigrees. The Jews, who have preserved most of their characteristics, likewise inherited this indifference to family names, and it was only the systematizing Emperor, Joseph II, who enforced upon them that general European custom. This was at the same time with his attempt to establish the German as the universal

language in Hungary; and thus German names were imposed on the Jews by the public authorities of every neighbourhood, and from this date such have been officially recognized as belonging to particular families. But neither the Jews themselves, nor the people took any notice of this. The former kept to the names they received in their synagogues; the latter continued to give them nicknames, by which they are mostly known.

Apart as the Jews have kept amidst us after centuries of degradation, and still impressed with the stamp of their national physiognomy, they have nevertheless become Europeans, naturalized by the many interests and pursuits which they have in common with those who surround them. The case is very different with the gipsies, as they are met with in Hungary.

These people I have seen and observed for months, with the facility afforded by their daily peeps into our court,—a favour which I owed to their forward loquacity, as well as to their greediness.

Their slender shape, flowing black hair, glistening eyes, pearly teeth, and dark complexion, give them an exotic appearance, but we cannot call it attractive. In fact, they dwell in a realm of filth. The growing-up sons and daughters of their race have certainly garments of spotted rags; but

the children dispense with even this luxury, quite satisfied to cover themselves with the mud in which they delight. Some of these little urchins are beautiful;—their eyes so purely blue, as if the glance of an Eastern heaven had transfused its pellucid colour into them. This peculiarity shines the brighter, as it presents a marked exception to the mystical brilliancy of the black-eyed majority.

We can trace back the tribe in Hungary to the end of the fourteenth century. They are apparently of Indian extraction, probably outcasts, driven by Tamerlane from their homes, whence they wandered farther and farther westward. In Hungary, as perhaps even in India, they are outcasts, not on account of their race, but owing to their unclean habits, their laziness and bodily weakness. They do not yet seem reconciled to the idea of fixed property, and still keep to their roving propensities. Every dirty work, which nobody else willingly does, is allotted to them. As formerly did the Jews in Egypt, they often make unburnt bricks; their women not unfrequently assisting in their scanty labours, in which they differ from the Jewish females, who are decidedly averse to any kind of exertion.

Nothing, however, more clearly marks these gipsies as outcasts, than their taste for garbage. It is a great treat for them, when fowls, pigs, cattle, or even horses die. Be it by distemper or by acci-

dent, such dainties are always welcome to their appetite. This abnormous taste they justify by the argument: "If the animals are good to eat when the butcher has slaughtered them, must they not be much better when killed by God himself?"

Unmartial in their appearance, and notorious cowards, they differ from their brethren of the Middle-Ages, who are said to have defied the rack. The best of them are like the children of Jubal:—"the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ;" or Tubal-Cain, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."

They often excel in music; being artists untaught in art, they form whole bands, complete orchestras, and execute complicated performances, most of them without the knowledge of a single note. Like the chorus of the birds of the fields, they blend discordant tones into strange, but magical harmonies. With sudden transitions their strains of wild enthusiasm modulate into plaintive songs of the deepest melancholy. It is as if brilliant remembrances of a grand past flashed up from amidst the ashes of joy and hope! The blaze extinguished, nothing remains but the feeble glimmer of regret.

This is the impression left on the mind by the gipsies' music,—a music perfectly adapted to the

genius of Hungarian nationality. No Hungarian festival pleases the fancy without the gipsies' bands. They are as much in request at a peasant's wedding, as at an elegant entertainment in the County Hall. This is a public building in the chief place of the county, where the county meetings, called *Congregations** are held, to which old

* In Hungary, once in every three years, the nobles of every county were accustomed to assemble, under the presidency of their lords-lieutenant, officers appointed by the Government for life. At the same time the civil Corporations of each town met under the presidency of a commissioner, especially appointed for the purpose by the Government. In these assemblies were elected, by acclamation—and, in case of a contest, by ballot—all the magistrates and municipal functionaries for the three years next ensuing. The functionaries thus chosen had the administration of all the affairs of their county or their town, and were obliged to give their constituents an account of their stewardship at quarterly meetings technically called *congregations*. At these *congregations* all the acts of the Government were submitted to the assembled body, in order, in case of any illegality, that they might be forwarded, as *gravamina* or grievances, to the Diet. In these *congregations*, too, the instructions for the deputies to the Diet were prepared; for in Hungary the members of that body were, previously to the late reforms, literally delegates, and not representatives. The affairs were habitually carried on in the following mode. First the resolutions and orders of the "Cancellaria aulice" (Royal Chancery) of the "Consilium locum-tenentiale Hungaricum" (Home Office), and the "Camera regia" (Treasury) were published. If the majority thought any of these resolutions unlawful, a committee was named, which with the

and young come from great distances. The gipsies are well aware of their own popularity, and make

county fiscal (county attorney) was to give an opinion about the illegality. In case of necessity, a representation was drawn up, and submitted to the authority which was in fault, or the whole affair was consigned "as grievance" to the Diet. Then followed the correspondence with the other counties, relative to any political questions of the day; next came the accounts given by the county functionaries of their administration for the last three months; after this, the petitions of private persons, which were put into the hands of the magistracy, or of specially appointed deputations; and at last any complaints against the municipal officers. Besides every member of the congregation was free to make independent motions. The sheriff (Alispan, Vice Comes) always opened the sessions with a statistical survey of the state of the county, of the receipts and disbursements, of the condition of the roads, of the prisons, of the suits pending, and processes decided, of the price of provisions, &c. In the autumnal congregations the budget of the county was regularly examined, and the necessary outlays of money for the next year were voted, for the expenses occasioned by all municipal concerns, as, the payment of the county functionaries, of the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries for the poor, and the expense of keeping up the roads and prisons. The whole budget was then sent to the Home Office "Consilium locum-tenentiale Hungaricum" to be sanctioned. To that board likewise all protocols of the congregations were communicated, that in case one or the other resolution of the county should be found unlawful, it could be annulled. In such cases the points in question were by the county or by the Government submitted to the Diet, and by this were definitively decided.

As a result of these institutions, the Hungarian Diet was not liable to be overworked by the enormous mass of business, which

the most of it on every occasion. Such of them as are not in favour with the muse, and therefore uncourted, avail themselves of every pretext, such as a birth-day, baptism, convalescence, or a return home, to torture the ear without mercy.

This I often experienced; for we had three such bands, decidedly inferior ones, in our borough. Not content with fiddling alternately, they often met, and played, all at once, each in its own way

I understand, oppresses the English Parliament; for our Diet confined itself to giving general sanction to that which the congregations recommended in detail. Until the laws of April, 1848, things might sometimes be virtually settled by the congregations themselves, who gave strict instructions to their representatives how to vote in the Diet. This was exemplified in the year 1839, on the question whether the railroad should go on the left or on the right bank of the Danube. But the reader must be cautioned against being misled by the term *nobility;* the meaning of that word in Hungary differs widely from that which is attached to the term in England. In that country the nobles were, in fact, all those who possessed the full and uncurtailed privileges of citizenship, and this in right of birth, not of property; comprehending not only many little cultivators who tilled with their own hands the plot of land they themselves possessed, or rented from wealthier owners, but even many who supported themselves by the very useful, though not very aristocratic, pursuits of butchers, bootmakers, tailors, and grooms. These nobles, setting aside other personal privileges which they enjoyed, were the county electors. The whole number of voters has been estimated at between six and seven hundred thousand persons in a population of fourteen millions.

a totally different air, and did not leave off this torture of our nerves, until ejected by the administration of some pennies—a specific far from infallible, unless accompanied by a peremptory order to go away!

But certainly the raven's croak is as little like the nightingale's song, as the ill-tuned noise, with which our gipsies inconvenienced us, resembled the tuneful harmonies of the Bunkos, Pityus, Biharys, Marczis and Farkas of Györ. All of these were, and some are still, leaders of their musical bands and composers, or perhaps, more accurately, rhapsodists of the ancient traditional melodies of Hungary. In our days no one, perhaps, has more characteristically seized the spirit of this national music, than the Jew of Pest, Mark Rozsavölgyi. This man's talent delighted thousands of loud-tongued admirers; yet, alas, he died in the misery of destitution, almost starved to death.

The Hungarian gipsies still retain an Indian dialect,—that of the Peninsula Cutch, I am told. But they do not seem to possess any memory of their Hindu worship, not even so faint a recollection as to awaken those natural religious feelings, the expression of which is a call of human nature. I have seen them baptize their children according to whatever religion the lord of the manor chanced to profess. A month seldom passed

without my being asked to stand godmother to a gipsy child. Many of the tribe attended the ceremonies of our church, but without any sense of their meaning.

If to instil their own instinct of professional beggary into their offspring can be called education, they fulfil this parental duty to perfection. I do not believe they have any precise notion of *home:* at least their wretched hovels bear no affinity, to what this appellation conveys to our imagination. The gipsy quarter was of course the worst kept in the borough, where, from morning to night, no small portion of them crouched, resting their elbows on their knees, their heads inclined, their hair in wild disorder, a picture of listless idleness, under the crumbling roofs of their clay huts, where doors and windows were supplied by holes, airy enough, no doubt. To finish the picture, we must note the naked infants, huddled together in clouds of dust. I seldom remember to have seen other children associate with these poor outcasts. In mature life only the more intelligent of them, as horse-dealers, come into frequent contact with the Jew and the peasant. The peasants, however, never like them so well in that character—not even after having made a profitable bargain, which rarely enough happens, as the gipsies are first-rate jockies—

as when he calls to the musicians: "Húzdrá Czigány!" (Draw up, gipsy!) which means, "fiddle merrily!" Then pour forth wild and pathetic strains; the peasant leads his partner with solemn courtesy, and they dance, not only with the feet, but with the arms, the eyes, the whole features, in fact, with their very pulses. In their Csárdás (their national dance), they begin by meeting and retreating, like two gallant adversaries in the lists of a tournament; but when at last they join, they turn together with such swiftness as if carried off by a hurricane.

Music, tobacco, and wine, form the chief expenses of ready money with our peasant. On our estate, he was able to be very well off: he possessed from twenty to twenty-four acres of excellent land; but, proud of being an inhabitant of a város (borough), not of a village, he deemed himself a citizen superior to other peasants and their labours. He therefore kept a servant, or servants, according to his income; and superintended their work, by simply standing by and looking on with the pipe in his mouth, puffing out clouds of smoke. One business prerogative he kept to himself,—the purchase and sale of his cattle and grain; nor was he forgetful of the bottle during his trip to market; though he was often spared that trouble by dealing in his own house with the complaisant Jew. This

comfortable master of a family only took care of his household, and never went out as day labourer. One class alone of the inhabitants of Szécsény, namely the Zseller's (probably derived from the German "Ansiedler," settlers) worked for daily wages; being possessed only of a house, a garden, and a small vineyard, which are not in themselves sufficient for the subsistence of a family.

Our manor extended over about twenty-four thousand acres, of which, twelve thousand were in the hands of the peasants, and the other twelve thousand under our own management—that is to say, not rented by farmers, but cultivated by our own agents. With this large sphere of activity, I did not practically meddle, having manifold indoors' occupations: nevertheless, I was highly interested in affairs out of doors. It was a recreation for me to walk about the grounds and visit the various buildings; in winter especially, the sheep-pens, and the place where the oxen were fed, adjoining the distillery of brandy.

We had six thousand sheep—not such stout ones as graze in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, but delicate descendants of the Spanish Merinos (transferred to Hungary under Marie-Thérèse) so justly celebrated for their excellent wool, on which account they are kept with great care. This care they well repay, as one mázsa, or hundred

weight, of this wool is sold in the English market, (under the name of "fine German" wool), for from £20 to £24 sterling.

The breeding of sheep, kept only for their fine wool, had during the last twenty years very much improved in Hungary; Klauzál Imre, one of the best agriculturists Hungary ever possessed, exercised great influence on this branch of economy, so highly important to the Hungarian proprietor, as forming the most lucrative branch of his revenues.

In January and February, when the lambs were born, it was a great treat to go to see them with the children, who would gladly have joined their gambols, but could not follow with the same agility the bounds of the half-merry, half-frightened, newly-born ones, on which the light of the world certainly had no stunning effect. We were so fortunate as to suffer but little mortality among our flocks, owing in part perhaps to the care of the master shepherd, to whom a pecuniary profit was given, proportioned to the number of lambs he reared safely. This kind of premium has been adopted in Hungary on several estates.

The brandy distillery was a large building, where, from October to April, every twenty-four hours, thirty quarters of potatoes, (of which a considerable part was produced on our own soil, and the rest bought from the peasants of the neighbourhood) were con-

sumed in the production of spirits. The residue of the potatoes was used as food for the cattle, which were fattened for sale.

All these sights and manipulations, though instructive and amusing inducements for a winter walk, were soon forgotten when spring returned, and with life-giving smiles greeted the beautiful scenes around us. For the pleasure of roaming freely about, I then readily left the comforts of home, and the large warm stoves—less cheerful to the eye than the English fireside, but from its equable warmth more satisfactory to sensation. Below our park, my impatient steps, to which no green spot seemed too distant, were checked by the overflown Ipoly; the meadows in the plain were completely flooded, and I anxiously looked, day after day, to see whether the young crops had not been drowned in the turbulent inundations of that river; which, at other seasons, was often so provokingly dry, that the numerous watermills were stopped, and I was obliged to wait weeks for my flour.

In this season the state of the crops raised an anxiety about the favourable and unfavourable weather, which I always used to call the weather-fever. It began in spring, but in fact never ceased till the earth sank under snowy sheets into its winter sleep. Of this I felt the influence much more than of that other Hungarian fever, which has

been represented as so noxious to unacclimated persons. Not a single member of our family was ever attacked by it; and so far as I have observed, this evil may in a great measure be prevented, by avoiding long exposure to the chill during sunset, when the formation of the dew causes a sudden fall in the temperature, which may prove highly dangerous to unhardened constitutions. This treacherous chill is often followed by a night of southern mildness. Not less injurious than this atmospherical influence, is the immoderate enjoyment of melons, which grow in the fields in our neighbourhood almost as abundantly as the poppy, magnificently clothed with purple bloom. The cultivation of the latter plant is not carried on to a great extent, but sufficiently to supply the country, where, from north to south, the poppy seed dressed up into a pudding *makos macsik* is highly relished, and forms the regular Christmas dish. In Germany there is no Christmas without a tree; in Hungary there is none without *makos macsik*.

We often drove out to see our Puszták (farms). My favourite one was Bátka, which was rich in pleasant oak woods, presenting a romantic view of the ruin of Hollókö, beautifully situated on the top of a rock. This ruined castle was once the

abode of the lords of Hollókö, a large domain of many estates, amongst which was Szécsény, now its superior. In the sixteenth century, Valentin Török was its proprietor who in 1540 victoriously defended Bude in the interest of Isabella, widow of John Zápolya, King of Hungary,* against Roggendorf, the General of King Ferdinand I. Török was subsequently taken prisoner by the Turks and confined in the Seven Towers.

At the foot of the ruin, in a narrow mountain pass, lies the village of Hollókö, entirely shut out from the rest of the world, and almost inaccessible in the rough season. In this seclusion live the descendants of the feudal garrison of that ancient stronghold, who are regarded as the best cultivators of fruit in that neighbourhood. Nothing could be lovelier than the fruit-trees, with their bunches of blossoms, exhaling perfume in the midst of this desolate spot.

The attractions of spring fade in turn, before the splendour of summer; which is nowhere more striking than in view of a broad, golden expanse of wheat field, spread, as it were, interminably to the eye, over from one to two hundred acres.

* Both John and Ferdinand were lawfully recognized Kings of Hungary, one in the east, the other in the west.

On such extensions a great many labourers must be employed at harvest, as the heat in this period is so intense, that if the ears are ripe the grains fall out within a few days.

The number of hands, in our part, proved insufficient to get in the corn as speedily as was desirable. We therefore took advantage of the peculiarity of the country—where, at the short distance of twenty-four English miles to the north of us, the harvest is a whole month later—and engaged the help of the Slovaks from that region, who readily came, accompanied by their wives, to earn in our service provision for the winter. They were paid, not in money, but in the produce of their own work, receiving, for cutting and carrying the corn, the twelfth or fourteenth part of the whole crop, and for threshing it out, a second twelfth or fourteenth part. Although, on several well-managed estates in Hungary, the threshing-machine is in use, the people steadfastly keep to the flail; and in the lower countries, principally for wheat and barley, they retain the custom referred to in Scripture, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, when *he treadeth out the corn*," with the only variation, that instead of oxen, horses are allowed this benefit.

On an open space of ground, cleared and cleaned, the corn is heaped up in a circle: in the centre stands the peasant, holding in his hands cords for bridles to

his horses, which are kept running round over the corn, and in this way tread it out more completely and quickly, than could have been done with the flail. As long as the harvest lasts, these Slovak reapers take up their abode in the fields. They receive a certain quantity of corn, meat, hogs'-fat, lard and salt, for their food: their women cook, and all are well off, in spite of the want of shelter. In case of very hard rain, they seldom fail to find a good-natured soul, who will share with them a covering roof.

On my first arrival at my husband's home, I did not feel comfortable when, half an hour before dinner, a whole unknown family came, with two or three servants. I had yet no notion how to dispose of them all, so as to make my unexpected visitors perfectly at ease. By a woman's instinct, however, I was aware, that confidence in oneself can alone supply the place of knowledge; so I tried, and was quite astonished before dinner was over to find myself and our guests in as friendly intercourse as if we had known one another for years.

Cordiality, that first-born feeling of a noble heart, which artificial politeness in vain strives to imitate, is so predominant with the Hungarians, that it is impossible to remain long a stranger amongst them. Their kindness calls forth so warm an attachment, their dignified hospitality, from the lord to the

peasant, is so attractive, that one unconsciously accepts from, and offers to strangers, what in most countries is granted only to intimate intercourse. They never stand upon ceremony, but delight in being visited in a friendly way, and never regard distance, to acknowledge their satisfaction for such attention. This I experienced in days of happiness, as in long months of sorrow. One expression of hospitality alone I never relished—the long Hungarian dinner, which is almost everywhere equally tiresome, but never so prolonged as at the table of Ocskay, Bishop of Kassa (Kaschau), where thirty-six dishes were the order of the day, not served in the time-saving manner of "courses," but every one handed round with due precision. Ocskay, however, was but an imperfect disciple of the late Raffay, Bishop of Diakovár. Once when this prelate suffered most surprisingly from indigestion, and his physician prescribed a severe diet, permitting him only thirty dishes, the patient earnestly complained that this was intended to starve him.

From the very first I protested in my house against such profusion, though the general cheapness of provisions rendered it a much less serious consideration, than it would have been in any other country.*

* A pound of beef cost from a penny to two-pence; a whole calf from sixteen shillings to a sovereign; a fattened hog from

The famine, however, in the winter and spring of 1847, after two bad years, made an obvious change —at least for some months—in these careless habits. Who could pleasurably have enjoyed luxurious meals, when thousands and thousands, accustomed to plenty, considered scanty supply downright starvation? This fearful calamity raged in some of the mountainous districts; but with us there only was a dearth of provisions, not absolute want. We naturally followed the general impulse to assist, and were so fortunate as to establish, during the whole period of the most pressing need, daily distributions of soup for five hundred people. We sought the aid, not only of all the housewives, with their kettles and fires, but likewise of all the priests and schoolmasters within our manor, to attend these distributions, and everywhere found the most kindly readiness. In our own borough everybody—friar, clergyman, physician, surgeon, trader, peasant, and servant—willingly assisted, not only actively, but likewise with their purse, however poor, in the good work. In our courtyard, one hundred and

thirty to fifty shillings; a goose from eight-pence to ten-pence; one pound of butter, hogs'-fat, or lard, from five-pence to six-pence; a quarter of wheat from sixteen to twenty-two shillings; one gallon of new wine from four-pence to eight-pence; one gallon of old wine from eight to eighteen-pence. The first-rate wines, of course, were much more expensive.

fifty persons, of all ages, met every noon at the boiling-pots; and it certainly did them all credit, that no serious altercation ever arose, though the gipsies were in assiduous attendance.

But much more difficult than affording this help, was it to persuade the people to help themselves. When my husband came to the peasants' huts, and, to induce them to work, offered them good pay for felling wood in our forest, he found them stretched on their benches, reluctant to speak, and it was not without much expenditure of eloquence, that he extorted the only answer he could get, "*Ehen vagyunk*" (we are hungry). We tried to satisfy them, and, after the meal, sent them to the woods: several, however, thought it more wholesome to rest after dinner, and the attempt was thus frustrated. Not much more successful were my arguments with the Jewish women, whom I tried to persuade that their needles might be usefully employed, and that the little ones creeping round them would give them much less trouble, with a bit of bread to stop their mouths, than while crying for food. I did, at last, get the less inveterate idlers to quill feathers, but I could never induce them to make any greater exertion. The gipsy-women, on the contrary, when I once bought some sorrel (*rumex acetosa*) of them, culled and brought to me so much, that I could have fed cattle upon it.

At Christmas, all our servants' children *hajdus* (bailiffs' and shepherds' included) from three to six years old, flocked around me—the little boys expecting to receive *csizmák* (boots) to walk into school, the little girls handkerchiefs and ribbons to dress them out for church. I thought it best, in that year of need, to celebrate the day of blissful record by dispensing to each of our hundred and eight peasants, potatoes and maize for seed, (the latter being much cultivated with us), upon the stipulation that, after the harvest, when the price would be low, they should return to me the quantity so advanced. They all paid this debt, with few exceptions, even without being summoned.

What was my astonishment when, amongst the men assembled to receive the loan, I recognized one of our wealthiest people. "Why, Szenográdi," said I, "you surely don't want support."

"But, my lady, if I have been more industrious than the others, and have thus acquired a little, should I not share with the rest?" was his logical reply.

This man was a specimen of the class of old peasants, who have acquired a certain opulence, and on this very account delight in hoarding, and allow as little to themselves as to others. Their

houses we find comfortable enough: the kitchens glisten with tin plates and tumblers; in the chambers are feather-beds piled up high; in their gaudily-painted *ládák* (chests) good linen sheets, with lace trimming. Their pantry, which consists of an immense trunk (*szúszék*), is well-filled with a stock of flour, lard, ham, and every necessary of the kind. Their cellar is provided with wine, and the ample tub with *káposzta* (pickled-cabbage), an indispensable ingredient in every Hungarian household.

But these luxuries are rarely enjoyed by the members of the family: they sleep on their small and hard wooden benches; and it is not until their lard has attained the maturity of three years, that they can be prevailed on to indulge in it. A wedding, a baptism, or the visit of a guest, must occur to relax this rigid economy.

The poorer peasant has seldom this taste for hoarding, and very rarely lays by anything. In consequence, during the year of scarcity, in several counties, granaries were found most useful, though not always sufficient. Suitable buildings had been, in the course of the last twenty years, erected and filled with corn by voluntary contributions: under public regulations corn was lent to the needy peasant in the spring, with the obligation, on his part, to repay after harvest a ninth part more than

he had received, which he could easily do, as the prices were highest when he obtained, lowest when he returned the loan. With this system conscientiously carried out, the original quantity of corn was doubled in from fifteen to twenty years, and the whole expense of management paid. Had these institutions been more numerous, they would have proved efficient blessings; but as they were established only by gift, and thus naturally confined to the more fertile parts, the destitute people of the upper country had no such resource.

Famine was soon effaced, but not the grateful feeling in the people's hearts: and little as benefits should ever be conferred with the expectation of acknowledgment, it did the heart good to meet such a requital. Every Sunday, after church—whither the people often walked from other villages of the manor, at a great distance—they always came to my husband with their complaints and difficulties, preferring his decision to the tediousness of an appeal to law. In one instance, however pleasant this confidence was, it could not be allowed. A peasant, who believed himself to have a claim to a piece of land, which came into our possession from the previous proprietor of our estate, resolved to institute a law-suit against my husband; but, instead of going to the Central-Court, he brought to the defendant himself a whole bundle of papers, and

asked him to judge! Of course, my husband explained that it was impossible in a law-suit for one of the parties to decide in his own cause. The peasant shook his head, and remained of opinion that the grant of his request would have been the wiser course.

The Catholic school, adjacent to the Franciscan convent, was certainly little adapted to develop this, or any other good feeling, in spite of the active application of the rod. When this instrument was not considered persuasive enough in the hands of the schoolmaster, a written order was given to the culprit, which entitled him to receive his due amount of stripes at the Town-house, in which the executive power of the borough resided.

Against such systematic up-rooting of every sense of honour, I so earnestly and loudly protested, that the Guardian (Superior) of the Franciscans, who had the superintendence of that well-regulated institution for the education of youth, at last gave way. Anxious to make the best of this opportunity, we proposed to give the building-ground and materials gratuitously, for the very necessary enlargement of the school, and to contribute a fixed sum yearly to its maintenance, if the community would complete the amount necessary to the purpose; reserving to ourselves the right of selecting our schoolmaster from among several indi-

viduals, whom the clergy and the community should propose. The Dean, who had the superintendence of the whole district, in clerical concerns, and in those of instruction, highly approved the scheme, and, at my request, brought it forward himself. But the "Reverendi Patres," averse to any Protestant influence, as they themselves explained it, preached so cunningly on the popular topic of no-payment, that the design failed. Thinking that competition might prove of more avail than reasonable offers, we took to the measure of founding a Protestant school ourselves: and so perfect was its success, that there were soon more pupils—not Protestants only, but Catholics—than the room could contain, and the teacher, our clergyman himself, could attend to. After this, I again tried the effect of an appeal to the brotherhood, hoping that the dread of proselytism, as a result of their own stubbornness—however little intended by me—might now move them. And possibly our wish might have been realized; but, alas! the inevitable revolution broke up all such efforts and occupations; and I fear that Austrian centralization will be but little disposed to carry through my bill for the reform of public instruction at Szécsény.

CHAPTER III.

HUNGARIAN COUNTRY LIFE.

My mother-in-law lived in the northern part of the country, which was very different in its features from that which surrounded us. Her region was exposed to the dominating influence of the Carpathian chain of mountains, rough and stubborn, many of them rearing their snowy summits, the outline of which was softened only when the rising and setting sun spread a rosy veil over their angular brilliancy.

The wild mountains give birth to many mineral springs possessing medicinal virtues. We find on the Polish frontier the Baths of Bártfa (Bartfeld), which used to be thronged at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. The war then

raging over all Germany drove the gamblers from Baden, Spa, Wiesbaden, &c., to seek undisturbed recreation in that remote spot, which has since been again abandoned. Trencsin, Tapolesán (Teplitz), and Pöstény (Pischtian), are now more frequented, especially the latter, as one of the most powerful medicinal springs.

But none of these has a situation comparable to the highly romantic position of Schmeeks. This Hungarian Gräfenberg excels its renowned Silesian rival in possessing the most magnificent mountain-scenery to be met with anywhere, and certainly deserves to be known. Except the King of Saxony, who was led thither in pursuit of his botanical studies, few foreigners have as yet enjoyed the strengthening water and the natural beauties of this attractive place. Not far distant from it is the Lomniczi-tetö (Lomniczer Summit), 8000 feet above the level of the sea,—the most elevated point of the Carpathians.

Hungary is in every direction blessed with mineral springs of all descriptions; but few of them can boast the privilege of fashion. Country-life is too intimately connected with the occupation and turn of mind of the Hungarian, the customs of hospitality bring him too incessantly into contact with his neighbours, for him to feel either the excitement, so often occasioned by continental winter-

seasons in town, or the loneliness of rural seclusion; either of which might produce that overstrain of the nerves and depression, which, more than any other cause, peoples the watering-places with habitual visitors.

The stern mountains of the counties of Trencsin and Liptó, and the more softened heights of Hont and several districts of Zól shelter the valleys of the Vág and Garam (Grán), both rich in varied pictures of lofty grandeur and smiling loveliness; both celebrated by the bloody struggles this year (1849), ensanguining their fields.

In the northern counties the Sclavonic population is by far the most predominant. Amongst the western inhabitants of Moravian race, we likewise find descendants of the 20,000 Hussites, who, in the fifteenth century, fought under their leader, Giskra of Brandeis, against Uladislas I. in the cause of Ladislas Posthumus; and subsequently made peace with Matthias Corvinus (Matthias Hunyady), and settled in Hungary. Their offspring we also find in the counties of Nográd, Gömör and Liptó. On the church-doors of these original Hussites is still depicted the communion-cup, the distinctive form of Calixtins, who maintained the primitive mode of the sacrament against those who withheld the lay-cup.

When, in the sixteenth century the light of the Reformation broke through the mist of Middle-Age abuses, these Hussites, penetrated by the rays of truth, for which they were prepared, contributed in great measure to its speedy diffusion all over the Sclavonic parts of Hungary, wherein they likewise introduced the Bohemian translation of the Scriptures, valued next to Luther's version and to that of the English, being accounted classical, not only for its faithfulness, but also for its style. The sermons of all the northern Protestant Sclavonians are delivered in the Bohemian language, which differs essentially from their usual dialects.

The counties of Szepes (Zipsen), Sáros, Abauy and Zemplény are peopled by Slovaks of more Polish extraction. More indolent than those just referred to, they have likewise fewer schools: a point which may justly be made the test of vitality with all creeds in Hungary, except the Catholic. The schools of Catholicism, which is looked on as the State religion, are kept up by, and depend directly upon, the Government; whilst the Protestants, Greeks, Unitarians and Jews have to maintain their own churches and schools, of which they of course have the uncontrolled management.

The Government, on the other hand, insists so strictly on its supremacy over the Catholic institutions, that I know of several cases in which the well-meant attempts of Protestant proprietors were frustrated, who wanted to establish on their estates, at their own expense, schools for their Catholic peasants, requiring only the privilege of appointing the schoolmaster.

These instances of rigid intolerance seemed very odd in a country, where the right of patronage as to Catholic churches is on many estates vested in the proprietor, whatever his religion. His obligation of maintaining the church has been regarded as involving a right of appointing the person who is to enjoy the revenues.

The Sclavonians attach many a fantastic tale to their dark vales and rugged rocks, with many a peculiar turn of phraseology; yet they have no author, like Grimm and other Germans of his school, to point out traces of their ancient faith, in their tales, proverbs, and peculiar expressions. Here we can only notice, that most of their stories are connected with detached pieces of rocks in plains or dales, (erratic blocks), and bear reference to the devil.

For instance, in a valley next to the mineral well of Czeméte, in the neighbourhood of Eperies, (one of the chief towns of the county of Sáros),

there is a quartz-rock with a deep hole in it, which was once gold, according to tradition.

A shepherd had sold his soul at midnight to the devil, for the price of a hundredweight of gold, to be paid down before dawn. Hardly, however, had the compact been made, and Satan taken leave, when remorse seized the unhappy shepherd, who, in order to save his soul, hanged his body. A few hours elapsed, and the devil returned, balancing the gold on his forefinger. But when, instead of the shepherd, he only saw the dead body, and found himself cheated as to the soul, he threw violently against the deceased the whole mass of precious metal; which instantly became transmuted to quartz, and still retains the impression of the devil's forefinger.

The story of the Castle of Lubló, in the county of Szepes, is still more piquant. The proprietor wished to enlarge his castle; there was, however, one little difficulty—he had no money. At last he resolved to apply to the demon, and going to the "devil's stone," called on its patron, with whom he made over by contract all the souls that should happen to be in the castle at the moment when the key-stone would be inserted in the banquet-hall. The devil hereupon presented him with seven chests full of gold, and the re-building of

the castle soon began on a grand scale. But not the devil's chests alone furthered the work; to the architect's great astonishment, the walls grew through the night, in ratio of their increase during the day. There could be no doubt, therefore, that the devil helped the work with his own hands; and as the extensive edifice drew nearer to its completion, anxiety pressed heavier and heavier on the heart of the proprietor.

It was in vain that he enlarged the plan. The castle was notwithstanding almost finished, and the hour of payment approached. The devil's debtor, in full despair, went down to the red cloister (still existing) and confessed his sins to the abbot, who naturally, before anything else could be done, took into custody the three chests of gold which he found to be still remaining of the loan, intending to release them by his blessing from the demon's curse, and to preserve them for the convent.

Then he sent to the castle a consecrated bell, with orders to ring it the very moment when the key-stone should be inserted into the banquet hall. Precisely at that moment, the devil was on his way, flying through the air with an enormous block under his arm, to crush his victims with. But the bell rang, and its consecrated sound paralyzed the fiendish power. The block tumbled

down into the River Poprád, at the foot of the castle, and the devil, furious at the breach of the contract, cursed the unfaithful man and his descendants; who, in consequence, have ever since been wanting both in money and in credit.

The pecuniary embarrassment of the proprietors of Lubló, and the impression of the fingers of the demon in the block, witness till now, to the people of that neighbourhood, the truth of these legends.

Not less entertaining, is the story of the miller at the Branyiszko (a steep mountain path), who, when his mill had stopped, being overwhelmed with sorrow, at the prospect of starvation for his wife and children, plunged into the forest. There he met a fine gentleman, with a cloven foot, a red cloak, and a cock's feather in his hat, who promised to get him water for the mill, if he gave up an object he possessed without knowing it.

The miller (it is not doubted) recognized the gentleman; but, need proving more powerful than conscience, he acquiesced to the proposition and hastened home. There he found the mill in full activity; and his mother-in-law met him joyfully, with the news, that his wife had happily borne him a son. The poor man was struck dead on the spot with horror. The fine gentleman soon came, and carried the baby away under his red

cloak. For a long—long time, the little one's mother heard nothing about him, and mourned for him; till at last the tidings reached her, that her son, owing to his eminent education, had grown a doctor of laws and a mighty grand gentleman: *Minister of the Interior* at Vienna.

As in the north-west we meet inhabitants of Moravian race; so, in the north-east we see Ruthenians, who immigrated into Hungary from Lodomeria (East Gallicia) in the fourteenth century, headed by their Prince, Theodor Koriatovich. They are the most wretched of all the Sclavonians in those parts, as indeed the most lazy and ignorant. By creed they are United Greeks, but their clergy are little fit to improve them. They recognize the Pope's supremacy: yet they take and give the sacrament in both forms, and (from a desire to balance between the Eastern and Western churches) have surprisingly confused ideas on the question, whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or from the Father and from the Son (*Filioque*).

To marry once is allowed to the priests, but second marriages are forbidden to them.

Their Bible and liturgy are in the ancient sacred Sclavonic tongue, as it was written by their Apostles, Cyrillus and Methudius, who were also the inventors of their alphabet. The modern priests, however, little understand what they read

in those characters, and often may be seen with the sacred books turned upside down before them, on the pulpit. The sheep of these pastors, never being troubled with schools, are as superstitious, as under such circumstances is to be expected.

One of the most remarkable instances of that superstition, is the pilgrimage of the Ruthens in the county of Unghvár. There, over the river Latorcza, on a steep ascent, stands a Basilit monastery, to which every year in summer, the Ruthens come from afar, to obtain indulgences.

In great processions, with standards and songs, the different communities meet, assembling in long file on their way to the cloister. Thus they wander on to the top of the height, beneath which the Latorcza streams. According to the popular superstition, the indulgence is most plenary for those who first bathe in that water. Like the Greeks of Homer, they fancy that they purify themselves thoroughly, by casting their sins into the waves. As soon as the procession has attained the summit of the elevation, the songs cease, and a particular kind of steeple-chase takes place. The whole mass of people presses down to the river; if one of the foremost falls, dozens of those crowding behind, tumble over his head. Screams, shrieks, and howls, pierce the air; and men, women, and children, in wild disorder, throw themselves

into the stream, which fortunately is shallow. It is a scene that reminds one of paganism much more than of a Christian ceremony—a scene that seldom fails to occasion serious hurt or disease to some of the pilgrims. But all feel blessed in having drowned their sins in the Latorcza; most of all the monks, as, after the cold bath, the people, in wet garments, go into the convent, and there proceed from chapel to chapel praying, and leaving everywhere, as a pious sacrifice, small copper coins.

Different in appearance, language, creed, and development, as the lower classes are in the upper counties, yet the higher ranks I found there much the same as all over Hungary; with the sole exception, that the nobility in general, though poorer, have much more taste for ostentatious display than anywhere else. Sáros has on this account obtained the appellation of the Hungarian Gascogne. But in spite of this, the predominant cordiality pervading these regions, forms the great charm of social intercourse; and, not seldom, softens into good-humoured ridicule, that which, when allied to affected pretension, would have proved insupportable.

In that northern clime, wolf-hunting is no uncommon diversion with the gentlemen, and even the chase of the boar and of the bear is not unusual. In winter, wolves not only sometimes pay visits to

lonely huts, but venture into the very vicinities of towns; such an event, however, never fails to create an immense uproar, which is not quieted until the inquisitive intruder has fallen a victim to public vengeance.

Sports, balls, weddings, anniversaries and improvised festivities; indeed, every and anything is a welcome pretext for incessant coming and going. But in fact there is no necessity for a particular cause to draw together people with whom hospitality is a religious feeling, a fundamental principle of their social state. No doubt, certain European conventionalities, of recent introduction, have already extended their influence over the land; which, however, still retains much that is characteristic of itself; and no doubt that improvements in the roads and means of communication in general, pleasant as they are to tourists, and useful to trade, are not favourable to the patriarchal customs, which constitute the bright side of feudalism, notwithstanding the striking oddities with which they are often blended.

Such were still to be met with in those neighbourhoods, about the commencement of our century. As one of the last characteristic Barons of feudalism, I may name the Baron Palocsay. On his manor he never permitted any of the County Officers to execute the decrees of the County; but requested to

nave them immediately communicated to him, and always enforced them himself most conscientiously, even when they were against his own interest; but he jealously refused to allow any one but himself, to rule on his estates. As he spent immense sums on elections, and by his superb hospitality and beneficence, had great ascendancy over the County Officers, they often yielded to his feudal whims; as also, no less willingly, did his numerous guests.

From time to time, especially in winter, the castle, where the old Baron dwelt the whole of the year, being in a lofty and bleak situation, would chance to be without visitors. At this, his Lordship felt annoyed, and in such cases, habitually sent out in search of guests. His servants went to the high-road that leads to Galicia and Szepes, and when they saw a travelling-carriage, they forced the travellers to turn to the castle, where the Baron, without listening in the least to their protestations, entertained them for three days in the most princely manner, because, as he said, "The Hungarian has a right to keep his guests for three days: if they are willing to remain longer, it is a great honour to the host."

This notion many Hungarians still retain, even if they no longer enforce it as practically as the old baron used to do. Indeed, I know of the case of a Mr. S—— who, when once he came on

a visit to a Hungarian country-gentleman, remained for seven years in the house of his host This certainly was a little eccentric, but visits for several months are not unusual; and persons who come with three or four children, may be heard to apologise for not having brought with them the rest of their family.

Baron Palocsay's castle, however, never presented a more curious aspect, than every year in autumn, which, in the highlands, is the general wedding season with the peasant, who rarely enters into this auspicious state until after the harvest, when his most pressing labours are over.

At that season the Baron used to assemble in his hall all peasant-girls, from sixteen to twenty years old, and all the lads, from twenty-two to twenty-six, belonging to his manor; which had a Slovak population. He had them ranged opposite to one another, sorted them pair by pair, and said: "Thou Jancsi (John) art precisely fit for Marcsa (Mary); and thou András (Andrew), for Hancsa (Anne)," and so on. The couples thus designated went to the chapel, where the chaplain announced their marriages, which after a fortnight were performed, and every one of the newly married received a cow and many other accommodations for their establishment.

When, however, one of the lads objected to the

choice made for his benefit, and mentioned his disinclination for Hancsa, and his preference for Ilya (Ellen), the Baron would reply that he did not believe it, and obliged the lad, as a proof of his love, to endure twenty-five lashes. If he underwent this trial he was free to choose for himself.

This specimen of feudal manners died in the beginning of the present century. His son was extravagant in a different way. He was a conservative of the German school, but attempted nevertheless the boldest reforms in his rural economy, and spent a great deal in experiments. The grandson, the present Lord of the Manor, is the most perfect Anglomanist in Hungary, where; however, he has in this respect many rivals. His highest ambition is to be taken by foreigners for an Englishman.

An original of another kind was the old Count George Festetics, one of the wealthiest peers of Hungary, who lived on the Balaton (Plattensee). In his youth, while an officer of the hussars, he signed, in 1792, with the whole of his regiment, a parliamentary petition, which was disapproved of by the government; on account of which, he was for some time confined in prison. After his release he retired to his estates, of princely extent and management. He was not only learned, but

also very clever; of a powerfully satirical turn, directed against all the world, which he disguised under the mask of politeness, united with the semblance of such perfect humility, as to appear at times awkward. It was never to be made out whether he spoke in joke or in earnest. As he despised mankind from the conviction that every one had a price for which he could be bought, it grew a mania with him to bribe every one, without any other aim than the satisfaction of knowing a person was under an obligation to him. This mania went so far, that he once attempted to bribe his king, the Emperor Francis himself.

The Emperor, on his journey to Croatia, spent a night in the Count's castle. The political offence had long been forgotten: Francis was gracious: the Peer received him with festivities, in the most splendid style. After the Emperor had retired to rest, the Count again presented himself before the lord chamberlain, requesting an immediate audience of the monarch. In vain did the chamberlain plead the impossibility of disturbing his majesty. The Count asserted his business to be of the highest importance; so that at last the chamberlain considered it his duty to tell the Emperor, who sent word to his host that he could not just then see him, but would be glad to hear what he had to communicate.

The Count then began to relate, in his most humble manner of unlimited devotion, how anxious he had been to prepare fireworks and an illumination for the reception of his illustrious guest: that for this end he had sat aside 100,000 florins, (according to their value in those times about £4,000); that however, the Esküdt, (police officer of the county), had interfered with the execution of his design, because the thatched roofs in the village would have been liable to catch fire. As the 100,000 florins had been intended for fireworks, not as presuming to astonish his sovereign, but solely to prove the sincerity of his intention, he wished to request the honour of being allowed to burn the 100,000 florins in paper-money at his Majesty's bed-side; or rather as this honour could not be granted to him, he entreated the chamberlain to make it known to the Emperor, and burn the notes in his stead.

The chamberlain utterly perplexed at this strange demand, went to the Emperor, and gave an account of the whole affair. Francis I, for whom money had always a peculiar attraction, took it, and said, smiling: "the old Count is a fool, but we will not burn the notes." The Count had hit the right nail.

This strange proceeding of our feudal magnate, addressed to so exalted a personage, is certainly

very striking. It may, however, not be quite uninteresting to note his equally original diplomacy with his inferiors and equals.

Once he was told, that an officer of his was very negligent, and was irregular in his superintendence of the workmen. The Count, to convince himself as to the accuracy of the report, drove at dawn to the officer's abode, whom, in fact, he found still in bed.

"I am sorry you are ill," said he with kind consideration, "what is the matter with you?"

The man not overjoyed at the unexpected honour of this early call, complained of head-ache. His lord assured him that warmth would prove most efficacious in his case, covered the patient carefully with a fur-cloak, and ordered camomile tea, which he diligently pressed on his victim; and then remained at his couch till noon, amicably talking about rural economy, without, however, forgetting from time to time to make kind inquiry after the sufferer's state of health, for which, on taking leave, he exhibited the greatest solicitude.

The officer, half-choked by the weight of the pelisse, and quite as much by his embarrassment, breathed freely, when relieved from this double oppression. But the evening of that very same day, so ominously began, brought an autograph letter from his patron, who expressed his regret at

his officer's delicate health, that necessarily deprived him of the satisfaction he felt in availing himself of the eminent talents of so distinguished a manager, and as he was unfortunately not sufficiently strong for the fatigues of business, he dismissed him with the sincerest wishes for his recovery.

An insinuation of the same kind, quite as tartly administered and as delicately framed, was once received by Count A——, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county. To oblige this influential friend, our peer gave him a fine estate on a very advantageous lease. Notwithstanding this, Count Festetics found for several years, that his interests were but little respected in the county. The roads that led through his estates were neglected; and the consideration of his affairs deferred. He, therefore, resolved to notify this to the Lord-Lieutenant, in his own peculiar way.

He sent for his solicitor, and said to him: "Go to Count A——, and tell him, we shall henceforward ourselves manage the estate he has hitherto had on lease. Count A—— will certainly ask you the cause of this change, answer evasively at first, and own but reluctantly, that you have secret instructions concerning this affair. He naturally will be desirous to know more. You will not comply, but assert, that your existence, your whole future welfare, depend upon no one's seeing the purport

of your instructions. Of course he will then promise you the fullest compensation in case of my displeasure; after which, you will show him the following document."

Its contents were:—

1. "In spite of the kindness I ever have shown to Count A——, from his infancy upwards, in spite of the estate, which simply to oblige him, I gave him on lease, far under its value, I meet with such ungrateful, unjust, and selfish conduct from him, as satisfies me that he never has the least consideration for me, disregards my most equitable demands on the county, and thus neglects my business. On account of this ungentlemanlike behaviour, as he should either not have accepted my kindness, or should be more attentive to my rights, I have resolved to give him warning as to the lease, and take the estate again under my own administration.

2. "If my solicitor should venture to communicate this secret instruction of mine to any person whatsoever, he shall instantly be dismissed, and forfeit the income which I allow him."

Everything happened as Count Festetics had foreseen. After reiterated promises of compensation to the solicitor, he delivered the desired document to Count A——, who found its tenour very different from what he had expected, but could

not help laughing at Count Festetics's diplomacy. He told the lawyer, he would settle himself everything with his Lordship, and set out directly for the castle. Festetics received him most graciously, and when Count A—— inquired, why he was no longer willing to grant the lease, Festetics replied: "Do you want to retain it? I readily leave it with you, I thought you were tired of it." He never had again cause to complain of the Lord-Lieutenant.

But the Count's irony never expressed itself more remarkably, than when he came into contact with a member of the Imperial family.

At the time when the Emperor Francis had given clear indications that he did not intend to assemble any more diets in Hungary, the Palatine Archduke Josef called at Count Festetics's castle of Csáktornya, where its master welcomed him most humbly and offered to guide him through the ancient mansion, once the Zrinyi's abode.* He exhibited several family-portraits and historical paintings, till at last he stopped before a large picture.

"Imperial Highness," he said, in his mildest

* Especially a favourite abode of Nicholas Zrinyi, the greatest Hungarian hero, and the best Hungarian epic poet of the seventeenth century, the grand-nephew of the "Leonidas of Szigetvár." He met his death in the vicinity of the Castle of Csáktornya, having been torn by a boar, while hunting.

tone of unlimited submission, " this is the monument most worthy of notice. Pannonia and freedom uphold there a column, adorned by the crown of St. Stephen. The Bohemian lion in vain strives to upset it. In this corner is written the date, which points out to your Imperial Highness, that the picture refers to the glorious reign of Your Highness's ancestor, our never-to-be-forgotten King Charles III. as Emperor Charles III.

" This is an allegory, illustrative of one of the most striking events of that period. Your Highness is aware, that then also, the old scheme had been set on foot, of amalgamating Hungary with Austria; which at Court, was denoted by the expression, that 'the Hungarians must be fitted with Bohemian uniforms,' in remembrance of the Emperor Rodolf's master-stroke of policy, which in spite of all resistance, subjected the stubborn Bohemians to the central government. It is true that this was completely achieved, only after a thirty-years' war. That scheme we see here symbolized by the Bohemian lion, opposed to the column, which is intended to represent the Hungarian constitution. But the two genii, that support the column, are, as Your Highness perhaps may have noted, portraits of those charming friends, the Countess Strattmann-Batthyány, and the Princess Pignatelli, to the first of whom, Prince

Eugene of Savoy, to the latter his Imperial Majesty could never refuse any request, and to whose united entreaties the Emperor yielded, regardless of his minister's advice, and thus remained true to the constitution he had sworn to uphold, and saved the country from a civil war.

"This picture thus immortalizes the exalted equity of Your Imperial Highness's great-grandfather and the well-known characteristic feature of your illustrious family, of benignant compliance with the wishes of graceful ladies. I do not doubt that this picture will meet Your Highness's approbation."

The Archduke took a pinch of snuff, turned to the window and highly admired the view of the valley. He knew the Count quite as well, as the Count knew him.

In Baron Palocsay and Count Festetics, we have two remarkably different types of the old Hungarian peers; of whom unfortunately none have survived. I may say "unfortunately," as they were not distinguished by their eccentricities alone. In the neighbourhood of Baron Palocsay's residence, wherever a misfortune happened, whether by disease, fire, or murrain, the old Lord's munificence was immediately exercised. Count Festetics still more grandly manifested his noble generosity and superior tastes. On his estate Keszthely, he founded

an institution, the Georgicon, for all branches of rural economy. This establishment, of first-rate importance to an agricultural country, like Hungary, was also highly prized in Germany. He admired, studied, and supported science and its scholars, while he himself was well worthy to rank amongst them. In such a Mæcenas, peculiar whims may not only be pardoned, but may be readily allowed as a privilege due to genuine originality.

While commenting on specimens of by-gone peculiarity, we have been unconsciously led from the colder regions, southwards, to the borders of the Balaton. We return to the north to view its towns, which are in general better built and include a more industrious activity, than the village-like boroughs of the fertile south. In those upper parts Kassa (Kaschau), is the largest and prettiest city. It is the chief-place of the county of Abaúj, and has a beautiful dome, finished by Matthias Corvinus, the finest of the very few monuments of Gothic architecture in Hungary.

Next to Abaúj is the County of Zemplény, rich with verdant dales, often submerged by the Tisza, (Theiss). With the splendid hills of the Hegyalja, where grows the well-known Tokaj, it may be accounted the region of the most excellent vineyards in Hungary. That wine has its name from the borough, Tokaj, where the Princes of Rákoczy had

their cellars; but the very best of it is not there, nor, as it is believed abroad, is it produced in the Royal vineyards of those vicinities, but we find it in Szegi, Keresztúr and Maád (small places), on the more carefully cultivated grounds of minor proprietors.

The preparation of that liquor requires and obtains the most anxious care. The vintage does not begin till the last days of October, as the sweetness of the delicious beverage, wholly native to it, depends upon the full ripeness of the grapes, of which a part *aszu szollo,* (dry grapes), shrivel up into raisins on the vinestocks themselves, and are squeezed to a pappy substance. In this state they are mixed with the must at the beginning of its fermentation, and produce the exquisite wine.

Before the kingdom of Poland was dismembered, and still later, before the prohibitive duties were imposed on Russian leather in Austria and Hungary—in consequence of which Russia greatly increased the duties on Hungarian wine—the vineyards of the Hegyalja yielded large incomes. Since then, many of the possessors in those neighbourhoods have been ruined.

Máad has not only the best wines, but is also the central point of social attraction. Placed in a lovely dale protected by hills, its climate is so mild, that rural festivities are there often enjoyed late in

autumn. I now remember, with the softened melancholy which is called forth by the retrospect on bygone joys and later sorrows, our gay entertainment on the height of the Király.* On the 31st of October, 1845, we sat there, enjoying the golden splendour of the transparent grapes, the skin of which is so thin, that they cannot be transported without being broken. The rich garlands of vine-branches, brilliant in autumnal magnificence, wonderfully contrasted with the vague outline of the wide view before us, which, covered with the dazzling veil of a hazy atmosphere, gave a dream-like aspect to the boundless plains on the opposite banks of the Tisza.

Next to us, all was life:—the vintagers, almost as actively eating as gathering the grapes, and but little checked by the presence of the gentlemen, who diligently participated in both these occupations, and smoked no less diligently all the while,—the ladies busy with preparations for the meal, converting the wine-tubs into dinner-tables by covering them with cloths, plates, knives, forks, tumblers, and glasses, and transforming the smaller casks into seats:—the servants bustling and tumbling about, with furs and shawls to be used as carpets:—the vintagers' children lighting luxurious fires,

* "Király," signifies King, the height of this name is one of the most renowned vineyards in Máad.

supplied with wood profusely enough for a hundred fire-places. All this offered gay scenes of careless pleasure; but it was not until the dark-featured and silver-haired Marczi (the renowned gipsy leader) appeared with his band, and like a conjurer in a fairy tale, poured forth his charms in strangely expressive sounds, that the genii of joyful merriment seemed to awake.

Grapes, pipes, cigars, dishes, cloaks, furs, and wood,—everything was forgotten, and old and young danced around in an ecstasy of delight. But the whole effect changed again, as if by enchantment; every face grew solemn, every heart swelled with manifold emotions, when the national Rákóezy March proudly resounded, modulating into the softest expressions of grief at the reminiscences of exalted glory. At these familiar tones I saw a stern countenance bedewed with tears, which afterwards did not change at the roar of the cannons, by which so many dear to that patriotic and noble heart were destroyed. Ujházy at that time enjoyed with us all the blessings of patriarchal well-being; he is now an exile, driven from the country he served so well as civil governor of Komorn, and is wandering with his family to a transatlantic shore; not to rest his venerable head in quiet solitude, but to earn his daily bread by labour, and to prepare a new sphere of life for his numerous children.

Cheerfully as the days of the vintage were spent, the evenings did not prove less pleasant. The whole society met at animated balls, where the presence of many Poles was marked by the frequent repetitions of their graceful mazurka.

Even unfavourable weather, which is a serious calamity to the proprietors of vineyards, could not greatly dim the gaiety of that season. Bad as often were the accommodations of large families, with an unlimited number of visitors, people moved freely to and fro, invited one another, smoked, talked, and dined together, and thus, if not always amused, certainly were never dejected.

But what dinner-parties, and social meetings of all descriptions, are on the largest scale, no one can know, who has not been witness to congregations and county-elections.

As regards the congregations (county meetings) which generally lasted a whole week, most of the gentlemen came from their country seats to the chief place of the county; the ladies gladly accompanied them, no less to see their acquaintances, than to listen to the debates, which certainly may be considered as first-rate practices for young candidates aspiring to appear on the larger forum of the Diet.

In such congregations it was that I first was struck by the noble elasticity of the Hungarian

language, which was quite as capable of expressing powerful thoughts of rigid logic, as to adapt itself to individual colouring of manifold feelings. In its character original, in its forms oriental, it is a mother tongue without children. Thirty years ago it was unfashionable in the drawing-rooms of Hungary; but then German was as universal an accomplishment as French has been, and is still in southern Germany.

The Empress Marie-Therese certainly contributed as much as she could to the expulsion of every national element, and to the introduction of foreign ones. Hungarian and Protestant feeling and expression were equally disliked and apprehended by her. Whenever she could, she attracted not only Hungarian aristocracy and wealth to Vienna, but also formed mixed marriages between Protestant Hungarians and Catholic Austrians; on which occasions she always used her influence to decide that the offspring of such unions must become Catholics. Whenever a wealthy young Protestant nobleman, of a more or less illustrious name, came to Vienna, he was kindly greeted at court, and, if possible, a wife was found for him. In what manner this was managed may be exemplified by the marriage of Mr. Cs——l.

This was a young man of moderate fortune, who came for his amusement to Vienna, where several

persons soon proposed to him to present him at court. He naturally accepted the offer. The Empress noticed him, and he received an invitation to the next ball at the palace. Unacquainted with the society, the young man sat down in a corner of the apartment to look at the dance, in which he took no active part. The Empress approached him, and asked why he did not dance, pointing out to him a pretty maid of honour, ready to be engaged as his partner. He complied with the command, and conversed amiably with the young lady, when the Empress again came up, and said: "I see he is delighted with Miss M——. I am highly pleased it is so. I must assist his timidity, and propose for him. I shall be the bride's mother, and in time his first child's godmother." (Marie-Therese spoke to every body, even to her minister, Prince Kaunitz, in the third person; a familiar way, but wholly unused now).

The young Hungarian, taken by surprise, did not venture upon a contradiction, and accepted the lady. The contract of marriage was signed in the Imperial presence, and contained the condition that all the children of this union should be brought up as Catholics.

The object which Marie-Therese partly attained by female adroitness, her son, the Emperor Josef, certainly frustrated in a great measure by the

violence, with which he attempted to overthrow the Hungarian constitution, and to enforce on that country the German language. No doubt this called forth the steady resistance which marked the Diets of 1790 and 1792, in the same way as the attempt of Emperor Francis to destroy the Hungarian constitution, gave birth to the consciousness of national strength, which has been so rapidly and grandly developed in every direction of Hungarian life within these last twenty years.

At present it is considered in Hungary, if not a shame, at least a deficiency in a son or daughter of that country not to speak its beautiful language, the accents of which act so powerfully on a people of poetical feelings and Oriental imagination. This was obvious at the county and parliamentary elections.

When the period of the elections approached, the whole of the nobility were in permanent agitation. The parties were assembled by their leaders. A ball, a sport, a birth-day, served as pretext, and whilst the younger gentlemen amused themselves, the elder ones sat together, calculating on the chances and probabilities of success. The number of votes were enumerated, to be gained by influence or money. A calculation of the expense was made, and a subscription opened to obtain the funds. Then began diplomatic arrangements to unite different

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interests, so as to satisfy the ambition of several candidates of the same party. At last the whole campaign was sketched in bold outline.

At dinner, where the whole party met, commonly from one hundred to three hundred persons, the result of the conference was published in a toast. The health of the candidates of that party was proposed, and the names of the members of the leading committee read aloud, from whom all the rest of the party had to receive directions. After dinner, a particular district was assigned to every influential and active young man, who was sent thither, supplied with money, and especially with a standard, bearing the colours of the candidate. At the same time the distinctive colour of the party was chosen, and put upon the hats. It was, however, habitual with one party to wear the green branch; with their opponents the cock's feather; or a white feather for the Liberals, a black one for the Conservatives. At other times it was a tri-colored ostrich feather, in contrast with a red one, or a bunch of foliage, in contrast with the pine-branch.

A task of particular consequence was to get first-rate music-bands and well-turned verses for the occasion. On the "Kortes," or peasant freeholders (*nobiles*), who had votes equal to all other freeholders, nothing, except plenty of excellent

wines, produced so deep an impression as good music.

It was not a rare incident for a candidate to lose votes in consequence of the greater talent of the gypsies of his rival.

In all villages, where great numbers of peasant-*nobles* dwelt—who certainly were not morally improved by elections, the party-standard was exhibited every Sunday and holiday. The voters assembled, the bands fiddled, the big-bellied wine-casks were pricked, and dancing and feasting, intermixed with roaring "*Eljen's,*" (hurrahs!) accompanied the speeches that were delivered in honour of the candidate, commending his merits and promises, and not without a good share of abuse of the other party.

The candidates were usually obliged once to make a tour through all the places, where they expected to find voters for them. With these they had to fraternize, by talking, drinking, smoking, and dancing. The candidates' friends, however, had still oftener to undergo these tributary pleasures.

The last days, previously to the election, were the most harassing. The money devoted to the purpose, was almost always by that time consumed; more was wanted, the pretensions of the voters increased. Innumerable manœuvres were now

tried, to gain over the opposing voters, or at least, to secure their neutrality by persuading them not to come to the election. As in most counties the number of voters amounted from 1,000 to 5,000, it may easily be conceived on what a scale of magnitude intrigues were carried on, and how much money was lavished. But the head-quarters —the candidates' own houses, or the abode of some self-sacrificing friend,—were crowded above all description. Visits, letters, summonses, political inquiries, communications of assumed importance, left to the temporary party-idol neither peace nor rest. Carriages came and went all day long, and processions of Kortes with standards and music appeared in the court.

All these were to be provided for, to be treated with amiable courteousness, and to be satisfied in one way or other, without the candidate committing himself to any one too positive promise. Dancing was again of great moment; the ladies of the house often could not refuse a partner in the form of an influential Kortes leader. The whole household was disturbed by these merry celebrations of party-excitement; for when the gay crowd approached, with the gipsies in their rear, there was no keeping any one back; the cook and kitchen-maids left the hearth, with their spits and pans in their hands; the housemaids, the rooms, with

the shovel and broom; the footman, the threshold, with his master's boots; the butler, the dining-hall, with plates and spoons; the oven-heater the chimney, with the fire-tongs; and all joined with their distinctive trophies in the general amusement. At last came the eve of election.

The voters in carriages, or on horseback, always headed by the leading young gentleman, filed, with hundreds of high-flowing standards, and loud musical and unmusical noises, to the County-House, where the election was to be held. Adjacent to this, covered and uncovered spaces had already been retained for the convenience of the voters, where the whole night through they feasted, smoked, sang and danced. However, they were strictly guarded by the police of each party, anxious to prevent any such collision as might occasion disputes or blows, and equally careful that none should be induced to desert his ranks, for which end no bribery was spared from the emissaries of the enemy's camp.

On the following morning, all made their entrance into the County-House; the Lord-Lieutenant's speeches were little attended to. The candidates' names were proclaimed by thousands amid the shouts of other thousands, and the poll began. It was the custom for each party to vote in separate courts, in order to prevent confusion

and possible conflicts; as a security against which, soldiers were placed between them. Yet this measure was always highly disapproved of by the public, who thought it an unnecessary intrusion to interpose a military force, though only for show, in their civil concerns.

But exasperated as these parties often were, before the votes were given, the passions soon subsided, when the majority had sealed the fate of the candidates. If but few votes decided it, then, it is true, a bitter excitement survived for several months, on the side of the defeated party. Some challenges and duels too, ensued, which however, never were dangerous, and always ended in perfect reconciliation.

As such elections regularly took place every third year, they naturally formed one of the most frequent and animated topics of conversation, and were to the young ladies and gentlemen, who were regardless of party-feeling, of the greatest interest, as no other year was so brilliant with parties and amusements of all kinds, as those which were enlivened by these contests.

CHAPTER IV.

VIENNA IN THE SUMMER O 1848.

I GREW so fond of Hungarian country life, that I seldom abandoned it to visit Pest, still more rarely to undertake the longer journey to Vienna. There, nevertheless, I chanced to be in the winter of 1848, just when everybody was thunderstruck by the tidings of the February revolution, that had taken place at Paris.

My husband was at the time at Pressburg with several of his friends, who were deputies in the Diet. He returned to Vienna on the 1st of March; I received him with the news, that a revolution had broken out in Paris; he answered quietly: "I know Thiers, and Odillon Barrot are the ministers of the regency."

I replied "No, a republic has been proclaimed, and a Provisional Government established; what do you say to this?"

He replied: "Next autumn our fields will no more be tilled by soccage; feudal institutions will disappear in Europe."

He spoke to the same effect with several persons; but in Vienna, the reasoning was considered eccentric.

I well remember an evening that we spent at the house of the late governor of Galicia, with the brother of one who has since been Minister. The French news formed the topic of conversation. The gentlemen expressed their apprehension that France would attack the monarchies of Europe. My husband thought, that there was no chance of this; that France would keep within her own limits; but that in Germany the thrones and the public peace were likely to be threatened. None of the persons then present gave credit to those words; a few days afterwards, a considerable excitement was observable in Vienna itself. Messrs. Schmerling and Bach, Barons Dobblhof and Stifft, Counts Breuner and Montecucculi, Professors Hye and Endlicher, with others who have all since been ministers, or have held other high places in the Government, all loudly avowed their disapprobation of Prince Metternich's system.

The Arch-Duchess Sophia, it was publicly asserted, favoured the liberal views of an Opposition, which, hardly noticed before, all at once appeared as a moral power.

The recent French revolution seemed to have dispelled all fear of the secret police; and the moment that people dared to express their opinions, it was obvious that the greater number of all classes were deeply averse to Metternich's depressive policy. Kossuth's speech in the Hungarian Diet, on the 4th of March, in which he openly declared that the Hungarian constitution never could be secure from the stabs of Austrian policy, until all the provinces of Austria should likewise enjoy constitutional guarantees, fell like a kindling spark into the already agitated minds of the Viennese.

Business recalled us home. We left Vienna the 9th of March, still without the least anticipation of what the ensuing days were to bring about.

On the 17th, my husband had to settle some affairs at Pesth, relative to our estate. On the evening of the 16th, a person coming from Pesth, spread in our borough the report of an insurrection in Vienna, of a general agitation at Pesth; manifested by crowds of people carrying banners in the streets. This was enough to hasten my husband's departure. At Pest he heard of the revolution which took place in Vienna on the

13th of March; of Metternich's fall and flight; of the deputation from the Hungarian Diet to the Emperor, and its arrival in Vienna on the 15th; of the concessions granted in principle to this deputation.

In Pest itself a national guard was established, and the censorship of the press was *de facto* abolished, A great political agitation reigned throughout the whole city. A committee governed the town, and became the medium of understanding with the authorities. The national guards were actively drilled. In every street crowds were to be seen discussing political subjects, especially as to the emancipation of the Jews, and whether they should be received into the national guards. The German population were inimical to them, but the Hungarians had no such feeling; and, on the whole, the great majority of the younger men were favourable to their absolute emancipation.

This question at first created more excitement than any other. Suddenly the public interest took a different turn. The Diet at Presburg had meanwhile steadily continued its labours, without being overpowered by the all-agitating commotion. In it the laws for the press were discussed, on the same principles as had been proposed previous to the revolution at Paris. It was intended to retain the system of deposits, and allow a jury

to assess severe penalties when they seemed to be deserved. At Pest these penalties were deemed excessive, and the difficulties that impeded the daily press, too numerous. And this was felt the more, that the Austrian provisional law of the press, which had appeared at this same period, though certainly more liberal, had, in Vienna, been publicly torn by the students; upon which it was revoked by the government, in alarm at this display of public feeling.

My husband was sent with a petition from the inhabitants of Pest to Pressburg, where he carried through the modification of the laws for the press. At the same time Count Louis Batthyányi, (then already named Prime-Minister, and entrusted by the Emperor with the formation of a cabinet), learned from him the particulars of the agitation at Pesth. In consequence of this the Palatine* (Archduke Stephen, cousin of

* The dignity of Palatine is as old as the Hungarian constitution itself, and cannot be compared to any of the dignities established in other countries. The Palatine is elected by the Diet for life. He is the President of the House of Peers, Captain-General of the country, President of the "Hétszemelycs Tabla," (King's Bench,) and of the "Helytartó Tanács" (Home Office), Count and Captain of the Jazygs and Cumans, and Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Pest. If a difference arose between the king and the realm (*inter regem et regnum*), the Palatine was, according to the law, the mediator. If the King was a

the Emperor), was led to take measures for the maintenance of order.

In expectation of the new ministry, the old central authorities were no longer generally attended to: yet their successors could not actually enter office till the King had given his sanction to the laws which, according to precedent, was granted only at the close of the Diet. The Palatine, therefore, granted a Provisional Commission, entrusted with civil and military power, to uphold security over the country, till the ministry should be constituted, and step into its place.

The Members of the Commission were: Gabriel Klauzál, (afterwards Minister of Trade); Bertalan Szemere (under Batthyányi, Minister of Home Affairs; and, subsequently, when Kossuth was governor, Prime Minister); my husband, and Paul Nyáry. This last, however, could not act, for as Al-Ispány, (sheriff), of the County of Pest, he was more than sufficiently occupied in his large district, with executing the decisions of the trustees.

minor, the Palatine was his guardian. If the King failed to convoke the Diet, it was the Palatine's duty to do it. In short, the Palatine was to be the Warden of the Hungarian Constitution; hence, as often as the Viennese Government attacked the Constitution, it always began by leaving the dignity of Palatine unfilled. Thus was it under Rudolf and Leopold I, thus under Maria-Therese, under Emperor Joseph, and, behold! in 1848 again.

He, nevertheless, often assisted at their meetings; and so did Ladislas Csányi, the highly-respected friend of all those gentlemen.

In how short a period have they all been overtaken by misfortunes. The first, confined to a bed of sickness, two exiled, one imprisoned; the last, as a martyr on the gallows, dying as he had lived, true to his fatherland and his principles. His name, in spite of all hired caluminators, will rank amongst the noblest sufferers for truth and freedom.

In the month of May, my husband was appointed Under Secretary of State in Vienna. Prince Paul Eszterházy was his chief in the ministry, which was appointed to mediate between the Hungarian and Austrian ministerial councils.*

But in spite of the continual changes, both of persons and of principles, in the Austrian ministry; in spite of the obvious and undeniable fact, that the Government in Vienna was subjected to numberless influences, from the "Committee of Safety," from the students, and from every agitator, who in turn excited the public mind;—yet the Austrian ministers assumed a tone of high superiority toward the ministry of Hungary. To the Hungarian communications they always replied evasively. When

* See Note at the end of this chapter.

a commission met, composed of members of the two ministries, the Austrian member invariably declared, that he had no instruction but to receive the Hungarian proposal, and could not decide on anything. If, on the contrary, the Austrian ministry thought that it had any cause of complaint, then, without any previous notification to Pest, it had long articles on the subject inserted in its papers, and by means of its adherents in the Diet, who put leading questions to the ministers, it gained opportunities of so replying, as to damage the Hungarians. While in personal intercourse showing prompt civility to the Hungarians, the Austrian ministers still secretly supported the deputations of the Serbs, Wallachs, Croats and Transylvanian Saxons, in fact, of all who sought to annoy or disobey the Hungarian ministry. At first, it is true, the Court seemed to enter into the newly adopted system, and willingly to establish the Austrian monarchy on federative principles. According to these, the counties belonging to the Hungarian crown, were to have their independent ministry, and their own separate responsibility for Finance and War; the Austrian portion was to be administered by Austrians, and the third division, the Italian provinces, by a national ministry of their own.

Apparently in accordance with these principles,

Jellachich, who in April had been instigated against the Hungarians, was in June officially disarmed. Moreover, Archduke John himself declared to the English Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, that the Emperor was ready to grant to the Lombards their national independence, and a federative constitution to the Venetians. But two things interfered with this scheme, the execution of which would probably have prevented two bloody wars, incalculable calamities, and the moral failure of the Austrian monarchy. The two things were—the Austrian debt, and the *esprit de corps* of the Austrian officers.

The German provinces, for which alone the Austrian debt had been contracted, feared the whole of its weight would fall upon them. Hungary had always protested, through its constitutional organs, against the reckless mismanagement of the Imperial finances, and had not partaken in the benefits of the loan. Never had a road, a school, or any institution been established in Hungary, from the funds of the Government; nor had the Hungarian Diet ever sanctioned the Austrian loans; on the contrary, it had repeatedly protested against them. Lombardy also, and Venice, had shared but little in the benefits of these loans: in fact, only in 1815 had these two provinces been joined to

Austria; and, being rich themselves, they did not want any support from the central government.

Instead of a wise attempt to settle these questions by amicable agreement, the Exchange impatiently pressed the Ministry to force Hungary into union with the Central Power, and not to abandon its sway over Milan. The high officers of the army stuck to the interests of their position; well aware of the difference of their personal consequence in a constitutional realm, and in an absolute one. They wanted war, in order to regain their power, and to be revenged on the civilians, who had deposed them from a supremacy, to which, as they deemed, they had themselves a right.

Field-Marshal Radetzky, Chief Commander of the Italian army, refused to obey the orders of the Emperor to negociate an armistice. He chose rather to expose the monarchy to dangerous chances. Much the same did Jellachich, and still more defyingly, from April till September, oppose himself to the Imperial command, under the pretence of saving the throne. But Radetzky, at Custozza, gained the victory, not over Carlo Alberto only, and Italian independence, but also over the unity of Germany, over constitutionalism in Austria, and over its tranquil growth in Hungary. From the

date of that victory, the tone of the Viennese Cabinet decidedly changed. Reaction began everywhere; and so much the more, as the monstrous June insurrection at Paris had excited distrustful apprehension in all Europe amongst the holders of property. General Cavaignac, at Paris, then set the first example of a permanent state of siege. This suggested to the terrified Governments the possibility of uniting despotic and exceptional measures with constitutional forms. The disciples have certainly far surpassed their master. We see the theory of a state of siege now become a practical perpetuity in Hungary. In that unhappy country, all law, civil and criminal, is considered void, and everything is administered according to the arbitrary pleasure of Generals, who have conquered for themselves as well as for Austria.

At the moment when the fortune of the Italian army turned, and the views of the Austrian Court and Ministry turned with it, we were residing in Penzing, (a borough where many Viennese have summer abodes), in the immediate neighbourhood of the Imperial pleasure-grounds of Schönbrunn. I read and wrote, and the children played, until dinner-time, in the garden adjoining our house, whilst my husband was occupied with public business in town, whence Penzing was distant only two miles. At five o'clock he regularly came home,

sometimes with friends whom he had invited to dinner. Most of these gentlemen were officers in the Hungarian Ministry, and resident in Vienna. Occasionally, whenever they happened to be in Vienna, there came likewise one or other of the Hungarian Ministers, as Count Louis Batthyányi, Baron Eötvös and Francis Deak. The latter, Minister of Justice, was the personification of logical equity and dispassionate virtue. I remember that all these distinguished men freely expressed the deepest sorrow that no longer could any doubt be entertained as to the intention of the Court and the German Ministers, not merely to repeal the laws and reforms of the last Hungarian Diet, but likewise to overthrow the ancient constitution and legal independence of Hungary.

Except the friends of my youth, we had few German visitors. Although the very same dangers threatened the recent institutions of Austria, which were insidiously undermining the free Hungarian constitution, yet the leading men of Hungary and Vienna remained personally strange to one another. The movement in Hungary bore a markedly distinct character from the agitation in Vienna and the provinces; and, in fact, the principles of the leaders in that country decidedly differed from the ruling notions of the Viennese.

In Hungary everything had the aspect of steady

development. The Opposition had stepped into Government, and was pursuing the achievement of its well-known plans, so often expressed in the Diets, in the county meetings, and by the press. The French Revolution had occasioned no alterations in the programme of the Liberals. The cessation of soccage only, and the utter abolishment of the feudal system, were accelerated. But none of the leaders had the least intention to overthrow the ancient institutions of the country. No plots arose against the House of Peers; not even did new political personages supplant the old ones. Notwithstanding that the elective franchise had been greatly extended, the same men were elected as deputies, who had previously been known as members of Parliament, or as leaders in the Congregations. In Hungary the events of March raised into power new principles, but no new order of society. In Austria, on the contrary, all development of political thought had been suppressed under Metternich; hence, when the commotion broke out, there was nobody to give a reasonable and practical direction to the enthusiasm of the people.

The few men known in the preceding period as Oppositionists, most of them retired civil officers; and officers of Metternich's time—the Wessenbergs, Pillersdorfs, Stadions, Schmerlings, Dobblhofs,

Bachs, and Stiffts—formed, in fact, no other conception than that of liberal absolutism—"centralization and the reign of a refined bureaucracy." Ere long, they got at the helm of affairs. The kind-heartedness of Pillersdorf and Dobblhof soon subjected them to the sway of every public and partial agitation. Bach and Wessenberg, however, attached themselves to the military party, expecting to find in the superior officers what was wanting in the bureaucrats, depressed by Metternich's system, namely, energy, active intelligence, and subordination. Whilst Pillersdorf, by the aid of the theorist, Hok, was remoulding the Belgian constitution, to adapt it to Austria, and Dobblhof, with his vague optimism, had not even succeeded in giving shape to his ideas, Bach had invented some easily current expressions, with which he allured the mass of the public, until the time should come when he could unfold his real plans. The most effectual of those expressions were: "Die Gleichberechtigung aller Nationalitäten," (the equality of rights of all nationalities); and, "Das democratische Kaiserthum auf der breitesten Basis," (the democratic empire on the largest basis). By the first of these phrases, the Sclavonic, by the second the German revolutionary party was attracted towards the ministry; at the same time, both of these phrases were directed against the independent

kingdom of Hungary. Prince Metternich had already steadily tried to use the Croats as a political counter-balance against the Hungarians. This, added to Russian machinations, and Polish fantasies, (which, though arising from different views, yet tended to the same end), rapidly spread the idea of "Panslavism," (the political union of all Sclavonians). In consequence of this, when in March the old Austrian system fell to pieces, all the Sclavonians, Croats as well as Bohemians, trusted that Austria could only be reconstructed as a Sclavonic power. They relied upon their numerical strength, neglecting to observe that the majority of their number were in civilization, wealth, and political consequence, inferior to the other races, and on this account, could not yet attain political ascendancy. The ministry gave the most brilliant promises to Jellachich and his Croats, to Rajacsics and his Serbs, no less than to the Bohemians. All these believed Bach and his followers to be as enthusiastic for the Sclavonic cause as they were themselves.

It is one result of the long prostration, which, at least in Austria and Hungary,* this manifold race has suffered, that it has no national aristocracy.

* When I speak of the Sclavonic races in Austria and Hungary, I never mean to include the Poles, who had developed, and have preserved as distinct a nationality, both political and literary, as any of the more fortunate European nations.

In consequence, the Sclaves or Sclavonians became the most passionate democrats. They hated aristocracy, and objected to the institution of a House of Peers, well aware that in Austria all the Peers would necessarily be Germans. On that point they were supported by the German democrats, whose aversion to aristocracy was so predominant, that it made them forgetful of the German question itself, and also kept them estranged from the Hungarians, because these were not willing to destroy nobility. Under the guidance of such notions, the Viennese Diet presented a strange aspect. Not a single military officer had been elected; the aristocracy occupied hardly any place there, the Galicians alone had sent several titled nobles; few lawyers were seen on the parliamentary benches; some higher civil officers, no banker, no rich merchant, and only a few first-rate manufacturers. But for contrast, many peasants, who neither could write nor read from Galicia and the Bukovina, all more or less tools of Count Stadion.* There were several pro-

* Count Francis Stadion had been Governor of Trieste, afterwards of Galicia. In both places he had expressed liberal opinions, and had opposed the policy of Prince Metternich; but had, nevertheless, proved tenaciously bent upon the theories he had adopted. In May, 1848, Count Stadion resigned his position of Governor in Galicia, and was there elected deputy for the Viennese Parliament. In November, after the Viennese Revolution, he was appointed Minister of the Interior, and planned the

fessors, a good many physicians, subordinate civil officers, and young men who had no definite vocation. The whole exhibited a picture of the discordant state of the monarchy. Count Stadion with his peasants, who did not understand German, but voted nevertheless, attracted one by one the ambitious members of the Assembly, as they considered him the future minister. Rieger, a most influential man among the Sclavonic Bohemians, (Csech), together with his whole party, supported the ministry, in spite of theoretical liberalism, and even republicanism. But forms of government were with them secondary to questions of race. Their first aim was to turn Austria into a Sclavonic empire, in which the ruling majorities and ruling characters should be Sclavonic. They were joined by the Polish factions of Prince Lubomirski and Count Potocki, who were so absorbed in the vision of a great Panslavic state, as utterly to forget Polish nationality. On the contrary, Count Borkowski, Sierakowski, and their friends, wanted to remain Poles. These were pretty good constitutionalists, but not

Constitution of the 4th of March, 1849, designed to be the basis of centralized Austria. Subsequently he opposed the Russian intervention (which the Minister Bach, particularly supported), and soon afterwards became insane. The title of Minister was still granted to him, in spite of his hopeless state, on account of which he was conveyed to Gräfenberg.

the best Austrians. The physician Löhner, and the bookseller, Borrosch, were, I think, the noblest characters in the Viennese Diet; but both, unfortunately, great theorists. Never having had experience in practical life, they proved incompetent to form a considerable party. Disinterested enthusiasts, and well-meaning dreamers in politics, alone rallied around them. Schuselka afterwards joined them, a man neither profound nor unpretending, but on this very account rather the more influential over his more modest friends. Before the Diet was constituted, Drs. Fischof and Goldmark, both physicians, and both by birth Hungarian Jews, also a third Hungarian born, Dr. Freund, by their eloquence and activity, were become popular names in the Committee of Safety. The two first, however, never attained any marked authority in the Diet, and the last was fully engrossed by the Gemeinde-Rath (Common Council). More prominent than these was Dr. Tausenau, who by his uncommon eloquence acquired in September considerable influence in Vienna.

We had acquaintance with but very few of these gentlemen. My husband had little trust in the stability of the Viennese affairs, and often lamented the unpractical aims of the leading men. Tausenau he had never seen in Vienna, but first made his personal acquaintance in Presburg, at the end of

October. Of the others, he sometimes saw Count Stadion, Fischof, Goldmark and Freund. Löhner dined once with us. In spite of this, the adherents of Bach—(when the ministry threw off the mask, and declared their enmity to Hungary)—busily asserted, that my husband had originated the Viennese Opposition. The whole fact was, that he had once communicated to Löhner some documents, which proved that the Austrian ministry supported the Croats against Hungary.

If a practically energetic man had been allowed to lead the Opposition in the Viennese Diet, they would not have wasted months in discussing theoretically fundamental rights, but would have examined forthwith the state of the finances. Hereby the Government would have been compelled to a course, not conducive to war and military rule, but to peace, reform, and a sound system of economy. But the Viennese were misled by the example of the Frankfort parliament. Here, as there, fundamental rights were brought forward; the seat of the practical legislator was turned into a professor's chair, from which lectures were delivered, concerning maxims of state, and laws of nature. The fruit of it all has been—a series of dissertations on the rights of mankind, followed by their practical commentary,—military dictatorship, a permanent state of siege, and courts-martial.

Whilst we lived retired at Penzing, we but seldom drove to evening parties in Vienna; and there we met only our friends and acquaintances of old date. Meanwhile, the communications between the Hungarian and Austrian Ministers became more and more uneasy. The language of the Austrian Ministers daily assumed a more imperative tone. And when my husband, by the order of the Hungarian ministry, renewed in August his attempts at conciliation, Baron Dobblhof, then Minister of the Home Affairs, told him: "that the Austrian Ministers were just then preparing an official document, in which they would so fully clear up their relation to Hungary, as to enable the Diet to form a correct view on the subject." My husband naturally requested the communication of this document, previous to its publication, in case incorrect data should happen to slip in, which it might be desirable for him to point out. Baron Dobblhof promised to communicate it, but kept his word as little as Baron Wessenberg, who had promised the same to Prince Esterhazy. On that occasion, the conversation naturally turned on the relation of Hungary to Austria, and on the basis of the future stability of the Monarchy. Dobblhof philosophically observed: "Hungary must be in the same relation to Austria, as the German Austria must be to Ger-

many." My husband related to me, with a smile, this delicate philosophy of the Home Secretary. With the well-known honesty of Baron Dobblhof, it was not to be presumed that he acted a diplomatic part, with the aim of deceiving the Hungarian ministry. In fact, that could not possibly have led to any end. Therefore, it seems, that in August, Baron Dobblhof was not yet initiated into the plans formed by Bach, Latour, and Wessenberg, aided by the military party. These three alone were the ministers connected with the court. Baron Dobblhof, though officially entrusted with the Home Affairs, Mr. Schwarzer, with the Public Works; Hornbostel, with Trade—were ministers merely in name. They had no direct intercourse with the Court, and the other members of the Cabinet just used them or dropped them at pleasure. Baron Kraus, on the other hand, the Minister of Finance, was so fully occupied with the financial embarrassments, that he did not take part in the details of the political intrigues.

At this time the Hungarian Diet had unanimously voted a large recruitment in the country, and the budget for 1848 and 1849. The Diet had been convoked so early as the 2nd of July, for the purpose, as said by the Royal speech (which the Archduke Stephen read in the King's stead) of enabling the Government to crush the insurrection of the

Serbs in the Banat and the Bacska, and to confront the threatening posture of Croatia. The ministers, Count Louis Batthyányi and Francis Deák, came in the last days of August to Vienna, with these Bills, to get them sanctioned by the King. He received them according to his wont, and told them to apply to Count Latour, who would communicate to them His Majesty's views. When they addressed themselves to the Count, he replied, that if the Hungarian ministers wanted anything of his Cabinet, they should apply to Baron Wessenberg, the Prime Minister. Count Batthyányi proudly answered, that he wanted nothing of the Cabinet; but by the order of the Emperor-King he had applied to Count Latour, from whom he solicited no advice, but simply the communication of his Majesty's views. To this note, Count Latour made no reply whatever, nor did the Emperor deign any further answer to reiterated applications. But suddenly a courier from Fiume brought the tidings that the Croats of Jellachich, on the 1st of September, had occupied that town and its free-port, in the name of the Emperor of Austria and King of Croatia; that they had established new authorities and had driven away the Governor, and the officers whom the Emperor, as King of Hungary, had himself appointed. Almost simultaneously Klauzál, the Hungarian Minister of Trade, wrote from Pesth

to the Prime Minister, Count Louis Batthyányi, then at Vienna; that with an autograph letter, the Emperor had sent to the Archduke Stephen, a long official document of the Austrian Ministers, in which they tried to prove, that the King had not had the right to grant to the Hungarians a ministry of their own; and at last had arrived at the conclusion, that the finances of Hungary, its army, and the administration of the military frontier, must be committed to the Austrian Ministries of Finance and War." The Emperor observed, in his autograph letter, that he agreed in his Austrian ministers' opinions.

To the Archduke Stephen, a document so utterly unconstitutional in its conception seemed embarrassing. The Austrian ministers obviously had availed themselves of the Emperor's condition of mind to persuade him, by their partial representations, to sign the document, without listening to the Hungarian Ministers; and therefore, without understanding the rights of the Hungarians, or the real state of things. But what should be done with it? was the great question. The King being personally irresponsible, certainly cannot send to the Diet a message not countersigned by a responsible minister, and directly impugning the legitimate authority of the Crown. For in this message, the King expressed himself that "he had not had

the right to sanction the propositions of the Hungarian Diet !" What then is the authority, superior to the constitutional King ? And what right is higher than the Constitution ? Where are the treaties subordinating the Hungarian Diet to any other power than the Constitution ? If the King is dissatisfied with his Ministry, he may dismiss it. In that message, however, he found no fault with it, nor yet with the Diet; but advanced an objection, which, if valid, overthrew the whole Hungarian Constitution. All these questions arose in the conferences held on the subject of this strange message. The Diet, however, resolved to follow the most direct line, and to send a deputation, from both houses, to Schönbrunn, openly to ask the King, whether he recognized the laws of 1848 as binding or not ? They were also directed to specify the points, in regard to which some definite assurances from his Majesty were necessary to tranquillize the minds of the nation.

The deputation came to Vienna. The address that was to be made by the President of the Hungarian House of Deputies, was previously communicated to the Austrian Prime Minister, Wessenberg. He proposed some modifications, which were accepted. Finally, he handed to the Hungarian Ministers the reply which the King would give, and which in spite of several evasive and unprecise ex-

pressions, was considered satisfactory, in so far as the Sovereign once more declared, "that he would sacredly preserve the laws he had sworn to, and the integrity of Hungary." Thus all the deputies hoped an understanding to be still possible.

On the 9th of September a solemn audience was to be given them at Schönbrunn. Hundreds of Viennese came there to see what was going on, as the Hungarians had of course preserved silence as to their transactions with Wessenberg. I likewise walked over to Schönbrunn: for two days my husband had almost always been absent from me. The deputation had been appointed for eleven o'clock; Count Batthyányi, who was to introduce it, paced impatiently to and fro in the court of the residence. No chamberlain appeared to lead him into the hall, but the deputation also delayed. Not till one o'clock did the long file of carriages arrive. But instead of the brilliant national costume, every one of the hundred deputies was clad in black; they all appeared preoccupied, and agitated; for while they were assembling in the hall of the Hungarian Ministry to proceed to the Monarch, a newspaper had arrived from Agram, in which Jellachich published an autograph letter of the Emperor, dated the 4th of September, which reinstated him in all his dignities and offices, approved his acts, and expressed the imperial satisfaction at his faithful

adherence to the throne. The deputation hardly could believe this. How could the contents of this letter be reconciled with the assurance, which in a few moments the King was to reiterate to his faithful Hungarians: "that he would sacredly preserve the laws he had sworn to?" So obvious a contradiction was utterly incomprehensible. My husband therefore instantly went with the newspaper to Baron Wessenberg, whom he found confined to bed; and asked whether this document was authentic, and how, if it was so, it could be reconciled with the royal answer to the deputation, which the Baron himself had communicated to the Hungarian ministers? Wessenberg assumed the guise of great indignation, with such perfect appearance of truth, that it fully deceived my husband. The Prime Minister assured him, that neither he nor the Austrian Ministerial Council knew anything about this autograph letter of the Emperor, that certainly the Camarilla deceived the monarch,* and

* On account of the well-known imbecility of the Emperor Ferdinand, his uncle, Archduke Louis, had governed alone from 1834 until 1848; even Metternich's policy reigned only in accordance with the Archduke's views. When the Archduke was obliged to leave Vienna in May 1848, the persons next to the Emperor seized the reins of the Government, the more so, as all those who surrounded him had no reliance in the Ministers Pillersdorf, Dobblhof, &c., and likewise kept these gentlemen distant from the Court. The Emperor's state of health was

would still occasion the greatest dangers to the throne. Therefore no great importance should be attached to the letter, which the Austrian ministry disapproved.

always a sufficient excuse for every chamberlain to deny, even to the Ministers, access to the Monarch. Hence, even the most decisive measures were taken without the knowledge of the Ministers: for example, the flight to Innspruck, on the evening of the 16th of May, was communicated only the ensuing morning by the First Lady of the Bedchamber to the Prime Minister, Baron Pillersdorf. The restoration of Jellachich to all his dignities was, by the voice of the public, attributed to the Archduchess Sophia. That the Emperor was always in bondage to such influences, was known by every one, and the "Camarilla" (back-stairs cabinet) excited general disapprobation. But it would give a false notion to imagine, that there were certain persons, always the same, who, with definite design and consequence, planned and carried through reactionary plots; on the contrary, those who just chanced to be at Court gained influence. The best influence was exercised by Archduke John, but he soon left for Frankfort. When Archduke Stephen and the Hungarian Ministers came to Court, they found compliance with their propositions, although reluctantly. Jellachich, no doubt, was received more favourably. The energy of the Archduchess Sophia certainly acted most powerfully, and no less the idea of those, who incessantly surrounded the Emperor, as the aides-de-camp and the chamberlains. The views often expressed by officers, who came from the Italian army with despatches, likewise did not fail of effect; but for the most part the Ministers Wessenberg and Latour, in the last instance decided. The Empress Mariana, wife of Emperor Ferdinand, took no part in these intrigues; pious and retired in her manner of life, she only cared for the Emperor's health.

The Hungarians at once discerned that the annihilation of their independence was aimed at. This was obvious. Wessenberg had denied his acquiescence in the document, but had not doubted its authenticity. The reply, therefore, which the King was presently to give to the deputation, could only be considered as a deceitful comedy. It was proposed by some not to go at all to Schönbrunn. The majority however decided, that the ceremony was to be gone through; though not one could cherish the illusion, that it was not utterly void of meaning.

At one o'clock the deputation went to the hall of audience, where the Hungarian noble guard was in attendance. The President of the Hungarian Diet, Mr. Dionys Pázmándy, stepped forward and pronounced the following speech:

"In the names of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, we appear before your Majesty. With our constant loyalty, tried for centuries, we claim the support of our crowned King for the inviolate preservation of the rights of the country.

"A Ferdinand was the first of your Majesty's house, on whose brow Hungary placed voluntarily its holy crown. Transylvania did the same for Leopold I. Hungary is not a conquered province; it is a free country, whose constitutional rights and independence your Majesty has

secured and sealed by the inaugural oath. The laws, which your Majesty on the 11th of April of this year sanctioned with your benignant approbation, only fulfilled the long-cherished wishes of the Hungarian nation. With gratitude, and with a vigour doubled by the extension of freedom, this nation was ready, with unaltered attachment, to shield the throne of your Majesty against the dangers which from more than one side threatened it.

"But now several parts of the kingdom are disturbed by a rebellion, whose leaders plainly assert that they rise in the interest of the reigning house, and are rebels in your Majesty's name, against the freedom and independence, which your Majesty lawfully guaranteed to the Hungarian nation.

"One part of the Hungarian army sheds its blood in Italy, for the interests of the monarchy, and reaps there, on every battle-field, laurels of triumph; whilst another part of the same army is being instigated to refuse obedience to the legal government of the kingdom.

"This sedition in the lower parts of Hungary is reducing peaceful villages to ashes, and causing the massacre of innocent children and women in a more than barbarous manner. At the same time, a rebellion from Croatia threatens Hungary with

hostile invasion, and, without any cause, has occupied the Hungarian port of Fiume, and the Sclavonian counties. The moving power of these seditions can be no other than the attempt of a reactionary party to destroy the consistency and integrity of Hungary, to annihilate the freedom of the nation, and to cancel the laws sworn to by the ancestors of your Majesty and by your Majesty yourself.

"Called upon by your Majesty to provide for the defence of the country, the Hungarian Diet assembled two months ago. This Diet now requests your Majesty to support it with the whole weight of your sovereign authority in the grand task of preserving the country unimpaired, which is identical with the unimpaired preservation of the royal throne itself.

"In consequence of this, we address to your Majesty, in the name of the Hungarian nation, the following request:

"1. That your Majesty will command all those Hungarian regiments at present not opposed to the enemy, to march to Hungary without delay, there to fulfil their duty of defending the country bravely and faithfully, according to the order of the Hungarian ministry.

"2. That your Majesty will, by threatening the forfeiture of your sovereign bounty, as also lawful punishment, command the army which is already

in Hungary, punctually to fulfil its duty of defending the country, and maintaining the rights of the Hungarians against the seditious, whatever standard and whatever name they may usurp.

"3. Whatever questions still remain undecided between the Hungarian and Croatian nations concerning nationality and administration, all these it is the firm purpose of the Hungarian nation, in this present Diet, to decide on the basis of equality, fraternity, and freedom, as also in accordance with the Constitution, which we possess in common. Croatia is now subjected to military despotism, and by this the citizens of that country are hindered from laying their lawful desires before the Hungarian Diet. May your Majesty, therefore, set the Croatian nation free from that despotism, and command the immediate restoration of Fiume and of the Sclavonic counties.

"4. The Hungarian nation entertains no doubt that your Majesty will not only frustrate the attempts of the reactionary party, which aims only at its own personal gain, but likewise will cause those to be punished who deserve it.

"5. The Hungarian nation further requests, that your Majesty will sanction with your sovereign approbation, the Bills which the Hungarian Diet has passed. Further, that your Majesty will

come to Buda-Pest, in the midst of your people, to support and direct by your illustrious presence, the measures of your Diet, and of your constitutional government.

"Sire! the present moments are of so weighty an importance to the Hungarian constitution, that the loyal nation must dread more than ever, the dangers of delay.

"With the loyalty of faithful subjects we therefore entreat your Majesty to comply with our requests, and most especially to come to Hungary without deferring. We entreat this, with so much more energy, as we are deeply convinced of the pernicious effects of delay. If our entreaties are disregarded, the public trust will be shaken in the Hungarian ministry of your Majesty, and the ministry will thus be paralyzed in the application of lawful means, to uphold order and restore peace.

"On the immediate decision of your Majesty it depends to avert incalculable dangers. May your Majesty support us with the weight of your sovereign authority, and thus assist the deliverance of the country! and the Hungarian nation will ever faithfully stand by the throne of your Majesty."

The Emperor thereupon, from a paper he held

in his hand, read his speech with faltering accents. It said:—

That he *would sacredly maintain the laws he had sworn to, and the integrity of the country;* that, if he did not sanction the Bills now offered to him, for raising troops and money, it was only because, in the shape in which they had been proposed, they would not prove to the benefit of the country; and that the delicate state of his health did not permit him to proceed immediately to Hungary, into the midst of his faithful subjects.

When the Emperor had concluded, the deputation bowed, but no *Eljens* (cheers) were to be heard. In silence the representatives of the Hungarian nation took their leave. As they descended the steps, the noble guards said: "As soon as necessary, we shall all come to Hungary."

My husband, as he approached me, observed: "This was the most lamentable leave-taking, with which ever a monarch dismissed his supplicating people."

We returned home, and heard, that on their drive back to Vienna, most of the deputies had mounted the red feather on their black hats, and had directly proceeded to Hungary, on the steamboats, which awaited them in the Prater. In the

distance the Hungarian tricolor-standard had disappeared, and the red one alone was still to be distinguished.*

* The Hungarian colours are those of the theological virtues: "Love, Faith, and Hope," "Red, White, and Green;" the same as the Italian colours. The Croatian "Tricolour" is the same as the French. The red colour alone means war.

As a comment on this and the following chapters, the following list of the Austrian and Hungarian Ministers, in the course of the years 1848 and 1849, is added.

IN VIENNA.

IN MARCH, 1848, PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

PRINCE METTERNICH, Chancellor of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council.
COUNT KOLLOWRAT, Minister of Home Affairs.
COUNT SEDLNICZKI, Minister of Police.
BARON KÜBECK, President of the Treasury.
COUNT TAAFFE, President of the Board of Justice.
COUNT HARDEGG, President of the Board of War.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION IN MARCH.

COUNT FICQUELMONT, Foreign Affairs.
COUNT KOLLOWRAT, Home Affairs.
BARON KÜBECK, Finances.
COUNT TAAFFE, Justice.
GENERAL ZANNINI, War.
BARON PILLERSDORF, Public Instruction.

IN MAY.

BARON WESSENBERG, Foreign Affairs.
BARON PILLERSDORF, Home Affairs.
BARON KRAUS, Finances.

Baron Sommaruga, Justice.
Count Latour, War.
Baron Dobblhof, Trade.
M. Baumgarten, Public Works.

IN JUNE.

Baron Wessenberg, Foreign Affairs.
Baron Dobblhof, Home Affairs.
Baron Kraus, Finances.
Dr. Bach, Justice.
Count Latour, War.
Mr. Hornbostel, Trade.
Mr. Schwarzer, Public Works.

IN NOVEMBER.

Prince Schwarzenberg, Foreign Affairs.
Count Stadion, Home Affairs.
Baron Kraus, Finances.
Dr. Bach, Justice.
General Cordon, War.
Mr. Bruck, Trade.
Mr. Thienfeld, Public Works.
Baron Kulmer, Croatian Minister without Portefeuille.

IN MAY, 1849.

Prince Shwarzenberg, Foreign Affairs.
Dr. Bach, Home Affairs.
Baron Kraus, Finances.
Mr. Schmerling, Justice.
Count Gyulay, War.
Mr. Bruck, Trade.

Mr. Thienfeld, Public Works.
Count Leo Thun, Public Instruction.
Baron Kulmer, Croatian Minister without Portefeuille.

IN HUNGARY DURING THE SAME PERIOD, FROM MARCH TILL SEPTEMBER, 1848.

Count Louis Batthyanyi, Prime Minister.
Bertalan Szemere, Home Affairs.
Louis Kossuth, Finances.
Francis Deak, Justice.
General Lazar Meszaros, War.
Gabor Klauzal, Trade.
Count Stephen Széchenyi, Public Works.
Baron Iosef Eötvös, Public Instruction..
Prince Paul Eszterhazy, Minister around the person of the King, and entrusted with the regulation of international concerns between Hungary and the Austrian provinces, and therefore, called Minister of Foreign Affairs.

IN SEPTEMBER.

Count Louis Batthyanyi, alone.

FROM OCTOBER TO APRIL, 1849. THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC DEFENCE.

Kossuth, President.
Szemere.
Mészaros.
Baron Sigmund Perényi.
Paul Nyary.
Count Michael Eszterhazy.

Baron Nicolas Iosika.
John Palffy.
Francis Duschek.
Ladislas Madarasz.

Pazmandy, Pulszky, Zsembery, and Patay were only from October to January Members of this Committee.

IN APRIL KOSSUTH WAS ELECTED GOVEROR-PRESIDENT, AND FORMED THE FOLLOWING CABINET:

Szemere, President of the Council, and Minister of Home Affairs.
Count Casimir Batthyanyi, Foreign Affairs.
Sabbas Vukovics, Justice.
Francis Duschek, Finances.
Ladislas Csanyi, Public Works.
Bishop Michel Horvath, Public Instruction.
General Görgey, later General Aulich, War.

CHAPTER V.

THE INVASION OF JELLACHICH.

On the 9th of September, at noon, the Hungarian deputation had received the royal assurance, that the laws sanctioned by the King should be sacredly maintained, and no less the integrity of the Hungarian realm. In the night of that very same day, the army of Jellachich, without the least provocation on the part of Hungary, crossed the Drave, the frontier river between Croatia and Hungary. The proclamation of Jellachich, drawn up in general terms, declared that he was advancing to Pest, in the interest of freedom and of the United Monarchy. Had he then a notion of the consequences to which this step would lead? Could he form an image of the dreadful calamities

which he was calling down upon his Croatian army, upon Hungary, and upon the Austrian monarchy? Was he able to conceive that his enterprise would be followed by the Russian intervention, by the overthrow of the Hungarian and Croatian constitution, which numbered eight hundred years, and by the moral, political, and financial break-down of Austria? Several letters from the Croatian head-quarters, which were intercepted by the Hungarians, bore evidence of the disposition that reigned there. The officers were setting out for Pest, as if it were for a party of pleasure, with the full conviction that the small Hungarian army, —the total of which was but eight thousand regular troops, whilst Jellachich boasted of sixty-five thousand — would either join Jellachich, or at least retire before the Croatian army, and allow it to proceed to Pest unmolested. Besides, they trusted that at the news of the invasion, all the Sclavonic counties would unanimously rise against the Hungarians; for Jellachich and his party had mistaken the swaggering of such men as Hodscha, Hurban, and Stur for fair truth.*

* Hodscha and Hurban had been Lutheran priests, Stur a schoolmaster, who, instead of the peaceful blessings of the Gospel, propagated the passionate doctrines of national excitement amongst the Sclavonians in Upper Hungary. They promised their disciples a mighty Sclavonic realm. They were supported by

The officers likewise expected a Wallachian insurrection, and, therefore, did not doubt their easy success. They professed in their letters, only to apprehend lest the Hungarian Ministers and Deputies should fly from Pest, and thus escape the vengeance of the Croatian army. They further wrote: "As soon as the nest of the revolution shall be destroyed at Pest, we shall proceed to Vienna, chastise the University and deliver the Emperor." This was the language held by the military party, who, by the expedition of Jellachich, thought to retrieve the honour of the army, which, according to their views, had been grievously sullied, when, in spite of the troops in Vienna, absolute monarchy had, in March, given way to constitutional forms. The Ultra-Conservatives in Hungary—the men who governed before March—were no doubt wounded in their national feelings at the attempt of a Croatian army to subdue Hungary; but they hoped that the threatening danger would compel the national party in Hungary to a compromise, by which they themselves would step again into power. A young man of their number, who during their government had occupied a high position, said: "We must first get

the Csechs (Sclavonic Bohemians); but in Hungary their attempts to instigate the Sclavonians against the Hungarians utterly failed.

rid of Count Batthyányi, then of the Archduke Stephen—everything else will be easily settled."

The views of the Viennese Ministry—which not only approved the expedition of Jellachich, but actively suported it with money and ammunition, artillery and clever officers,—were soon afterwards expressed by Count Latour to a deputy of the town of Weisskirchen. The inhabitants of that place, who in compliance with the Imperial order had submitted to the Hungarian Ministry, had now, already for the third time, been attacked by the rebellious Serbs, and had been called upon by the Imperial Lieutenant-Colonel, Mayerhoffer, Austrian Consul in Belgrád, to surrender to him. The heroic inhabitants of Weisskirchen (all of German race) repelled likewise this third attack, but simultaneously sent a deputation to the Austrian Ministry of War, under whose administration they had stood before March, and asked what they were to understand to be their duty,—what view the Ministry took of it,—as, in compliance with the law, they were obeying the Hungarian Ministry, while, regardless of the law, Austrian Officers, who professed to be acting under Imperial order, were heading the rebellious* Serbs, in repeated attacks

* When the Palatine opened the Hungarian Diet on the 2nd of July, he denounced, in the King's name, the Serbian movement as

upon them. Count Latour replied evasively. "He lamented," he said, "the fate of the inhabitants of Weisskirchen. He could in that moment, as long, namely, as the Hungarian Ministry kept the path of legal right, do nothing for them; but that they had only to wait patiently for a little while, and steadily persevere, and they would, no doubt, in a few days, be released from their disagreeable position." The Austrian Ministry evidently calculated, that the approach of Jellachich must occasion an outbreak at Pest; that the more energetic party there would be impatient of Batthyányi's scrupulosity; and finding his preparations against Jellachich totally insufficient, would overpower him by force; that then Kossuth would be proclaimed Dictator; this of course would give a welcome pretext for putting Hungary under martial law, and military dictatorship; the ancient Constitution would be abolished and centralization established. Such were the old schemes originated under Rudolf II. by Cardinal Klesel,—tried afresh under Ferdinand II., under Ferdinand III., under Leopold I., under Charles III., under the Emperor Joseph and Francis I.,

a rebellion. Indeed, the unprovoked outrages of these Serbian murderers were afflicting to humanity. Yet they were led by imperial officers who bore the King's commission. Their real chief, Mayerhoffer, has been since promoted to the rank of general, and to the dignity of Vice-Woivod of the Serbs.

always with ultimate failure; but now at length the ministry made sure they would succeed. But Providence variously disappoints human presumption. The events were to belie the calculations of the crafty statesmen.

Prince Eszterházy had felt distinctly, that since the month of August, when the Imperial family had returned from Innspruck to Schönbrunn,* he was coldly received at Court; he therefore resigned his ministerial charge in the first days of September, before the audience given to the Hungarian deputation. Count Louis Batthyányi, and all the other Hungarian Ministers, did the same on their arrival at Pest, after the 9th of September. Deák, the Hungarian Minister of Justice, after that memorable audience had had one more interview with the Archduke, Francis Charles, brother to the Emperor Ferdinand. Deák had then set forth the real state of things, and had freely said: "That the measures of the Viennese cabinet would for ever estrange the Hungarians from the Imperial house; that the intrigues to undermine, and in fact to make void the laws, that had been constitutionally voted and had been solemnly sanctioned by the King, would greatly shake the authority of

* After the *émeute* of the 15th of May, at Vienna, the Imperial family fled to Innspruck; after the battle of Custozza they returned to Vienna.

the crown." But the Archduke only made some evasive observations; every warning proved too late.

On the 13th of September, the ministerial benches in the Hungarian Diet, were empty: Szemere alone sat there. As Minister of the Interior he retained his office, until a new Ministry could be formed. It was foreseen that the crisis would be protracted. The excitement grew with every hour; daily couriers arrived, with tidings that Jellachich was advancing. The Hungarian corps of observation, that opposed him, had receded without a single shot; and its General had declared, he would not fight against Jellachich and the Croats. Jellachich had directed this General to retire with his Hungarians to Friedberg in Styria. In this alarming state the Diet called upon Kossuth not to leave his post during the crisis, nor give up the whole weight of business to the Under-Secretaries of State. Kossuth immediately complied with this desire. In the midst of enthusiastic applause, he again took his ministerial seat, and proposed that, in order to face the most pressing danger, as an enemy was already in the country and marching against the capital, the Diet should authorize him to execute his financial plan, which had been already approved by the Diet, and which the King had not unconditionally declined. One of the

parts of this plan, was, to issue for the present, paper-money, as a floating debt.

The party which dreaded more than anything else, to risk every thing on the decision of the sword, hopeless as conciliation appeared, still persevered in attempting it. They entreated the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, who, both by the law and by an autograph letter of the King, stood at the head of the government, instantly to form a new Cabinet, for that otherwise the imminence of the danger would necessarily lead to extreme measures. And, in truth, at the news of Jellachich's approach, volunteers kept hastening to Pest to defend the metropolis and the Diet. The Archduke, therefore, authorised Count Louis Batthyányi to form a new cabinet; a commission which the Count accepted conditionally. Kossuth declared that he would support him with his whole influence. At Kossuth's suggestion, the Diet entrusted Batthyányi with the direction of all functionaries, until his new cabinet should be sanctioned by the monarch. By this time more consolatory news came from the army.

Jellachich, who was almost wholly unprovided with cavalry, had issued to all the regiments stationed in Hungary a proclamation, summoning them to join him. He himself loitered about the neighbourhood of Kanizsa (not far from the

Croatian frontier), to await the results of his proclamation. The colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers, who with his troop was on his way to Austria, where his Bohemians were to be exchanged for a Hungarian regiment of hussars, refused obedience to the Hungarian ministry, and submitted to the order of Jellachich. But on the other hand, the officers of the Hungarian army had disapproved the order of their General, to give way before the Croats, and had declared their resolution, steadily to obey the Hungarian Ministry, under whose orders they had been placed by the law, and by the express declaration of the King; but, wishing to learn by what authority and command Jellachich had invaded the country, they sent two officers, the Count Bubna and Mr. Bárczay, to the head-quarters of Jellachich, begging to see the Imperial order, which authorized him to invade Hungary. Jellachich received the Hungarian officers with ready amiability, wishing to make friends of them. He owned that he had no positive order from the Emperor to invade Hungary; but asserted that the Emperor was not free:— "The Court," he said, "approved the plans of the army; and it was the duty of every officer to risk his life for the support of the throne, without first inquiring for orders." He further gave his opinion, "that the Austrian monarchy

was in danger of being dismembered; that the army was the only link which could keep it together; that the officers were men of deeds not of words, that it was for them to assume the direction of affairs, and to supplant as well the bureaucrats of the old school, as the revolutionists of the present time." The fine words of Jellachich failed to impress the two officers. When he had declared that he had no direct order from the Emperor to invade Hungary, they said that they knew enough, and returned to the Hungarian camp. But the Hungarian General, who had given the order to avoid the Croats, could no longer gain obedience from the troops.

Count Louis Batthyányi now called upon the Archduke Stephen (who as Palatine was likewise Captain-General of the country), to put himself at the head of the Hungarian army. The Archduke complied, and by his presence raised the enthusiasm of these troops. They in reality were only desirous of maintaining the honour of the Hungarian army; as none believed, that with their small number they could possibly resist the sixfold-larger forces of Jellachich.

The Hungarian Diet made one more attempt at conciliation. It sent a deputation to the Austrian Diet at Vienna, inviting it to settle any differences that might exist between Hungary

and Austria,* by means of a commission, to be appointed by the Hungarian and Austrian Diets conjointly. But the Austrian assembly, by its ministerial majority, refused to receive the Hungarian deputation. The Csechs, who apprehended that an understanding with the Hungarians would frustrate the plans of Jellachich, for the ascendency of the Sclavonians, all voted with the ministry.

Count Batthyányi had, at the same time, entreated the Archduke to do every thing which could lead to a conciliation. He farther desired my husband to represent to the Emperor in Vienna, that on one condition only was it possible for him to form a new cabinet,† namely, if without delay the order was issued, that Jellachich should withdraw from Hungary, and that all questions between Croatia and Hungary should be carried on by peaceful arbitration. The Archduke Francis Charles, who at that time used to answer in the Emperor's name,

* Not the differences between Hungary and Croatia, as this country had been incorporated into Hungary since the times of the Hungarian King Kálmán (Colomannus) in the eleventh century: and, therefore, its transactions with Hungary could legally be settled between them without any interference from Austria.

† The names of the ministers Count Batthyányi had proposed to the King for his Cabinet were, Count Alexander Erdödy, the Barons Josef Eötvös, Dionys Kemény, Nicolas Vay, General Mészáros, Colomann Ghiczy, and Maurice Szentkirályi.

said: "His Majesty approved of the Archduke Stephen having taken the command of the Hungarian troops, and had nothing to object to the names which Count Batthyányi proposed for his cabinet. As for the rest, everything that was necessary should be provided for." But, instead of an order commanding Jellachich to withdraw, the Archduke Stephen received an autograph letter from the Emperor expressing the desire that the Archduke should avoid any conflict with the Croatian army, which was marching towards Pest. The Palatine still tried the last means of a compromise. He requested Jellachich to come to an interview in the midst of the Balaton, (Plattensee); in view of both the armies, where the Hungarians stood on the north-western bank, the Croatians on the south-eastern. When, however, the steam-boat on which the Archduke Stephen had arrived, sent its boats to the opposite shore to receive Jellachich and his aide-de-camp, the Croat General asked his officers, whether he should go on board the vessel. They, of course, wanted no compromise: they expected to enter Pest triumphantly, without the trouble of even unsheathing their swords, and therefore cried out unanimously: "We do not permit it!" Jellachich accordingly would not come. The Archduke then saw no chance of deciding the awful contest ex-

cept by arms,—resigned his command to General Moga,—left the army and his fatherland,* and hastened to Vienna, whence he speedily departed to Germany. There he still lives on the estates, which he has inherited from his mother. Before he left Vienna, he had an interview with my husband. To judge by what the Palatine then expressed, he foresaw the fate of Hungary and of the Monarchy, and deeply regretted the wounds which, by the intrigues of ambitious individuals, and by the military party, were piercing the country and shattering the dynasty. He seemed to be aware, that if the King's word is no longer sacred, and the people cease to give firm trust to this pledge, then the moral authority of royalty is ruined. The Archduke appeared to be in despair, both for Hungary and for the Austrian monarchy.

Count Louis Batthyányi likewise did not believe in the possibility of resisting the Croatian army.

* Archduke Stephen, the son of Archduke Joseph, and grandson of Emperor Leopold, was born and brought up in Hungary; his estates were all in Hungary, and he believed and always proclaimed himself an Hungarian. In the year 1847, he openly quoted at a public dinner at Arad the words of the poet Vörösmarty, "So long may I live, as I can live for Hungary." Before he assumed the command of the army, he sent the message to the Diet—"If every body forsakes Hungary, I ever remain faithful to my fatherland."

He did not wish his country to be crushed without resistance; yet he ever, and above all things, longed for reconciliation, and was ready to catch at the faintest hopes of it. Only one man did not despair, and had a firm belief in the victory of his country. This man was Kossuth. He trusted in his nation, and addressed its Oriental genius in an eloquent appeal, affording a remarkable contrast to the minute detail of facts and figures in the letters and dispatches by which his instructions were conveyed.

After reminding his countrymen in this proclamation of the truth of all his former predictions, he yields to an irresistible influence to continue prophesying, and says:

"Hear! patriots, hear!

"The eternal God doth not manifest himself in passing wonders, but in everlasting laws.

"It is an eternal law of God's that whosoever abandoneth himself will be of God forsaken.

"It is an eternal law that whosoever assisteth himself him will the Lord assist.

"It is a Divine law that swearing falsely is by its results self-chastised.

"It is a law of God's that he who resorteth to perjury and injustice, prepareth his own shame and the triumph of the righteous cause.

"In firm reliance upon these eternal laws—on

these laws of the universe—I aver that my prophecy will be fulfilled, and I foretel that this invasion of Jellachich's will work out Hungary's liberation.

"In the name of that fatherland, betrayed so basely, I charge you to believe my prophecy, and it will be fulfilled.

"In what consists Jellachich's power?

"In a material force, seemingly mighty, of seventy thousand followers, but of which thirty thousand are furnished by the regulations of the military frontier.

"But what is in the rear of this host? By what is it supported? There is nothing to support it!

"Where is the population that cheers it with unfeigned enthusiasm? There is none.

"Such a host may ravage our territories, but never can subdue us.

"Batu-Chan deluged our country with his hundreds of thousands. He devastated, but he could not conquer.

"Jellachich's host at worst will prove a locust-swarm, incessantly lessening in its progress till destroyed.

"So far as he advances, so far will be diminished the number of his followers, never destined to behold the Drave again.

"Let us—Hungarians—be resolved, and stones will suffice to destroy our enemy. This done, it will be time to speak of what further shall befal.

"But every Hungarian would be unworthy the sun's light if his first morning thought, and his last thought at eve, did not recal the perjury and treason with which his very banishment from the realms of the living has been plotted.

"Thus the Hungarian people has two duties to fulfil.

"The first, to rise in masses, and crush the foe invading her paternal soil.

"The second, to remember!

"If the Hungarian should neglect these duties, he will prove himself dastardly and base. His name will be synonymous with shame and wickedness.

"So base and dastardly as to have himself disgraced the holy memory of his forefathers—so base, that even his Maker shall repent having created him to dwell upon this earth—so accursed that air shall refuse him its vivifying strength—that the corn-field, rich in blessings, shall grow into a desert beneath his hand—that the refreshing well-head shall dry up at his approach! Then shall he wander homeless about the world, imploring in vain from compassion the dry bread of charity.

The race of strangers for all alms will smite him on the face. Thus will do that stranger-race, which seeks in his own land to degrade him into the outcast, whom every ruffian with impunity may slay like the stray dog—which seeks to sink him into the likeness of that Indian pariah, whom men pitilessly hound their dogs upon in sport to worry.

"For the consolations of religion he shall sigh in vain.

"The craven spirit by which Creation has been polluted will find no forgiveness in this world, no pardon in the next.

"The maid to whom his eyes are raised shall spurn him from her door like a thing unclean; his wife shall spit contemptuously in his face; his own child shall lisp its first word out in curses on its father.

"Terrible! terrible! but such the malediction," proceeds this proclamation, "if the Hungarian race proves so cowardly as not to disperse the Croatian and Serbian invaders, 'as the wild wind disperses the unbinded sheaves by the way-side.'

"But no, this will never be; and, therefore, I say the freedom of Hungary will be achieved by this invasion of Jellachich. Our duty is to triumph first, then to remember.

"To arms! Every man to arms; and let the women dig a deep grave between Veszprém and Fehervar, in which to bury either the name, fame, and nationality of Hungary, or our enemy.

"And either on this grave will rise a banner, on which shall be inscribed, in record of our shame, 'Thus God chastiseth cowardice!' or we will plant thereon the tree of freedom everlastingly green, and from out whose foliage shall be heard the voice of the Most High, saying, as from the fiery bush to Moses, 'The spot on which thou standest is holy ground.'

"All hail! to Hungary, to her freedom, happiness, and fame.

"He who has influence in a county, he who has credit in a village, let him raise his banner. Let there be heard upon our boundless plains no music but the solemn strains of the Rakoczy march. Let him collect ten, fifty, a hundred, a thousand followers—as many as he can gather, and marshal them to Veszprém.

"Veszprém, where, on its march to meet the enemy, the whole Hungarian people shall assemble, as mankind will be assembled on the Judgment Day."

Responding to this appeal, the inhabitants of the country streamed enthusiastically to the capital from

all sides. New battalions were formed, and as he public distrusted the officers of the Hungarian regiments of infantry (who for the greatest part, were Germans and Bohemians, and did not deny their sympathy with Jellachich), the regular soldiers also were summoned by the young men of Pest to leave the black and yellow* standard, and to enrol in the newly-formed battalions of the Honvéds (defenders of the fatherland).

From Vienna, likewise, volunteers came to Hungary. Since Jellachich had crossed the Drave, enlistments for Hungary had publicly taken place in Vienna, with the knowledge of the Minister of the Interior. Baron Dobblhof looked on the Croatian invasion of Hungary as a matter in which he was wholly neutral. He permitted the enlistment for the Hungarians, and simultaneously an enrolment for Jellachich. Lads from eighteen to twenty-two years of age were to be seen, some with the Hungarian, others with the Croatian "tri-colour," drinking together at one and the same table in the tavern, and thus spending their enlistment-money together. These poor youths associated and joked good-humouredly with one another; nevertheless, they knew that their next meeting was to be in opposite ranks, on the bloody field of battle. At

* Black and yellow are the Austrian Imperials' colours.

the same time, people were summoned to a third enrolment, by a printed writ posted up for public notice, for the formation of a Sclavonic corps of volunteers, which was to stir up rebellion in the north-western counties of Nyitra, Trencsin and Thurócz, wholly peopled by Slovaks.

It became manifest, that in spite of the advance of Jellachich towards Pest, the Diet and the whole population of Hungary were not discouraged, but would, in any case, stand the chance of a contest. This did not suit the plan of the Court party in Vienna; for though it did not doubt that Jellachich would be victorious, yet it was aware, that, in this case, the exasperation in Hungary against Austria would be raised to the utmost.

The first hope had failed, namely, that the Hungarian regiments would follow the example of the German ones, and pass over to Jellachich. The commander of the fortress of Komárom (Komorn) had also been summoned by the Austrian Ministry of war to surrender to Jellachich, like the commander of Eszek, who had given up this fortress to the Croats. But, regardless of the order which Count Latour wrote to him, the commander of Komárom and his troops proved true to the Hungarian cause. His reply to Count Latour's letter was: "that the King legally conveyed his orders by his Hungarian ministry, and that therefore no

order could be accepted from his Majesty's Austrian ministry."

The plan in Vienna, therefore, was altered. The Austrian General Count Lamberg was appointed "Commander-in-chief of all troops in Hungary," of the Hungarian no less than of the Croatian troops, with full power to dissolve the Diet if necessary.

The Court and military party thought by this arrangement most easily to realize their plan of centralization, and their aim of annulling the legal independence of Hungary. It was calculated, that probably the Hungarian army would submit to Count Lamberg, as of course would the troops of Jellachich; and backed by a force of at least 70,000 men in the near vicinity of the capital, Lamberg could either get the Diet to pass every thing he desired, or dissolve it without the danger of an insurrection, and could then provisionally organize the country.

My husband, of course, knew all this directly in Vienna; and as he heard that an order without any counter-signature had been given to General Lamberg, he went to Count Latour, and represented, that whatever might be the intentions of the Count, legal formality ought in any case to be respected; and that the order, which gave unlimited authority to General Lamberg, could not be legal without the counter-signature of the Hungarian prime minister,

Count Batthyányi: in fact, without this, Count Lamberg would become, according to the Hungarian law, guilty of high treason, as attempting to seize the highest authority in violation of the laws.

Lieutenant Field-Marshal Latour did not accept this view; but answered with irritation: "that General Lamberg was provided with everything he required, and that the counter-signature was perfectly unnecessary." This irritability of the Austrian minister of war was easily to be accounted for.

In the preceding days, Hungarian shepherds had surprised a courier from Jellachich, with letters directed to Count Latour, and other persons connected with the Austrian ministry; letters which plainly evinced the understanding that existed between the Viennese Ministry of War and Jellachich. The latter in his dispatch acknowledged his receipt of military stores, requested more, and solicited his public recognition by the Emperor, with full authority to carry on his enterprise energetically.

These letters were, by the Hungarian government, published without delay, and distributed even in Vienna by hundreds and hundreds of copies. They were the first authentic documents, which clearly proved the duplicity of the party of the court; as but a short time before, Count Latour had, on a question put to him in the Viennese Diet,

pledged his word of honour, "that he had no official relations with Jellachich."

My husband, who personally knew, and highly esteemed General Lamberg, now sent a person acquainted with the General to Pressburg, where Lamberg then was, to represent to him the illegality of his appointment, and the necessity of the counter-signature, and, at the same time, sent a courier with the account of all that had happened to Count Louis Batthyányi. The Count was well aware that the mission entrusted to General Lamberg was not a mission for peace, but only aimed at a reaction against the laws of 1848, probably also against the old Hungarian constitution. Even this, however, appeared to Batthyányi, in the present instance, less pernicious to Hungary, than a lost battle against Jellachich, which would deliver Pest and the whole of Hungary, unconditionally, into the hands of the Croatian chief. Batthyányi, therefore, determined to counter-sign the nomination of Count Lamberg, whenever the order should be produced to him. But Batthyányi did not doubt that General Lamberg would hasten first to the Hungarian camp before he would venture to come to Pest, and, therefore, he himself likewise went on the 27th of September to the Hungarian army.

As Batthyányi had, since the 14th of September, remained sole minister, (all the former cabinet

having resigned, and the newly-proposed ministers having not yet been officially confirmed by the King,) the Count could not uninterruptedly attend the Sessions of the Diet. The Diet, therefore, appointed a committee, to which Count Batthyányi was to give his instructions, and with which he was to consult about the means of defence against Jellachich. This committee was the well-known "Committee of Defence" (Honvédelmi Bizottmány) which afterwards took charge of the government, when it was abandoned, first by the Palatine Archduke, afterwards by the Minister, Count Batthyányi. The despatches from Vienna were naturally communicated likewise to that Committee, and by it directly submitted to the Diet. On the evening of the 27th the Diet, assembled in an extraordinary sitting, declared the order, without counter-signature, given to General Lamberg, to be illegal, and himself an outlaw, if he should dare to execute it.

Lamberg certainly had no conception of the excitement which prevailed at Pest. A Hungarian himself, although of German extraction, he had a long time lived in the midst of his countrymen, and firmly believed that the inhabitants of Pest were so panic-struck, by the approach of the Croats, that they would greet him as their deliverer. Instead of proceeding to the camp, the General went to Pest. He there called on Mailáth, who was Chief Justice

(Judex Curiæ) and also a privy-councillor, an old acquaintance of his, to speak with him about his own mission. He found the privy-councillor confined to his bed. But his son, one of the most distinguished members of the conservative party, a leader in the previous Diets, who was well aware of the general excitement, entreated Count Lamberg to leave Pest, by a back-door and bye-streets, without the least delay, and to hasten after Count Batthyányi to the camp, as in the town his life obviously would be endangered. Lamberg laughed at these apprehensions, and drove in a hackney-coach to Buda. Whether he really intended, before proceeding to the army, to take possession of the fortress of Buda, which commands Pest, cannot be decided. But suddenly the report spread all over the capital, that Count Lamberg had arrived, and would give up the fortress of Buda, then occupied by National Guards, to those very companies of Austrian soldiers, which, on account of the public distrust against them, had not been ordered to the Hungarian camp, but had been left in Pest.

It was the 28th, at noon: the Diet was assembled: Kossuth was developing in a long speech the means to be adapted for defence against Jellachich, when a tumult arose in the streets. The deputy Balogh hastened down, and when he heard the people crying out, that the fortress was to be seized, he put

himself at the head of a crowd of volunteers, and led them speedily to Buda, to occupy and secure the gates of the fortress. Masses of people, armed with scythes, thronged after him; but as they saw the fortress-gates safe in the hands of determined men, most of the crowd returned. Just when the multitude was pressing over the bridge of boats, which unites Buda to Pest, a fatal chance led Count Lamberg thither. He was in a hackney-coach; a sergeant recognized him, violently pulled him from the carriage, a German student and a young Hungarian from Transylvania, struck him down in an instant. The raving mob fancied that an act of patriotism had been achieved, and triumphantly dragged the body through the streets. The Diet naturally saw this crime in another light. As soon as the horrifying news reached the parliamentary Hall, a resolution was passed to express the intense sorrow of the Diet at the bloody murder, and to command an immediate inquest, and the punishment of the criminals. These instantly fled. A courrier was despatched to the camp, to communicate to Count Louis Batthyányi and the Hungarian army the distressing tidings. Its impression on the troops could not possibly be foreseen, as General Lamberg had been known and beloved by the Hungarian soldiers. Count Batthyányi had, some hours before the arrival of the official courier, already re-

ceived by a private courier the horrid news. Indignant that the sacred cause of his father-land was polluted by murder, and without any hope of seeing Hungary victorious, he again resigned his place as prime minister, and hastened to Vienna, to save for Hungary what he possibly could in the general wreck. But on the army the murder of General Lamberg made no impression; all were burning to meet the enemy. Innumerable volunteers daily hastened to the camp; its position was favourable, and the citizens of Pest sent thither one vessel after another loaded with provisions, of which, in consequence, there was great profusion. When the deputies from the Diet anxiously detailed to the Hussars, that the murder of General Lamberg was, not a political, but an individual crime, at which the Diet recoiled with horror, and that the criminals had been pursued; an old sergeant interrupted the speaker, and said: "All this is nonsense! If a revolution is necessary to save the country, we likewise ride through it in full gallop."

Jellachich heard the same evening that General Lamberg had been murdered, and that Count Batthyányi had left the country. Owing to this, the Croatian leader fully expected an utter confusion in the Hungarian army, and the greatest anarchy in Pest. In consequence he gave orders for an attack, the 29th in the morning, with the convic-

tion of a complete and unbloody victory. He also calculated upon the lack of gunners in the Hungarian army, because the soldiers of the artillery in Austria were all Bohemians. Jellachich had no notion, that since the beginning of September, the lawyers and engineers of Pest had entered the ranks, and had been regularly drilled by the Bohemian artillerymen, who could hardly have been depended on in the field. When, therefore, close to the vineyards of Sukoró the first cannon-shot received him, he and his whole army evidently were surprised. A long cannonade followed without occasioning any great loss, until at last the charges of Jellachich's cuirassiers were repulsed by the Hungarian infantry, and the Croats retired in confusion. But General Móga, the Hungarian Commander-in-chief, with his undisciplined volunteers, and with officers, many of whom had no knowledge of military art, did not choose to pursue the victory. A council of war was held. Jellachich had requested an armistice of three days. It was granted to him by General Móga. Jellachich did not keep his position; he availed himself of the armistice to escape in the darkness of the night, to gain Györ (Raab) in forced marches, and from there the Austrian frontier, where he expected reinforcements from the Austrian Minister of War.

The 1st of October Jellachich reached Györ, the

5th he was in Mosony (Wieselburg). He trusted that the German and Italian garrison of Pressburg, would join him. The National Guard in Pressburg, however, broke up the bridge of boats, and the soldiers garrisoned in the neighbourhood could not cross the Danube, but precipitately passed the Austrian frontier. Some companies of the Italian regiments put themselves at the disposal of the Hungarians. Great as the enthusiam of the Hungarian army was, General Móga but slowly pursued the Croats. He evidently was averse to destroy them. Every evening he regularly arrived at the place which Jellachich had left in the morning. Probably he deemed that the battle of Sukoró would prove a sufficient warning to the Croats, and to the party, whose tools they were, and he daily awaited from Vienna an unbloody solution of the contest.

The flight of Jellachich (or the *flank-movement*, as he himself styled it,) naturally endangered the two corps, which had covered his communication with Croatia. One of these, consisting of 5000 men, under the command of Baron Albert Nugent, was, on the 3d of October, when the news spread of the battle of Sukoró, attacked and routed by the National Guards of the south-western counties, headed by Joseph Vidos, a member of the Diet. The other Croatian corps of 12,000 men, with twelve cannons, under the Generals Róth and Philipovich, was on the

5th obliged to surrender at discretion, being pressed from all sides by the "Népfelkelés" (levy of people), led by Csapó, Görgey, and Perczel. Csapó, the sheriff of the county of Tolna, had consumed or wasted all the provisions, on the roads to which the Croatians were compelled. Perczel and Görgey surrounded the starved troops, who, dispirited also by the tidings of the defeat sustained by the main corps under Jellachich, surrendered on the third day. Sixty officers were taken prisoners. In 12 cannons, seven standards, and 11,000 muskets, consisted the trophies of this day, which excited in Pest the greatest enthusiasm.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OCTOBER INSURRECTION OF VIENNA.

WHILST in Hungary the vigour of the nation so powerfully manifested itself, in Vienna the public opinion, through all classes of society, took a different turn. Until September 1848, Hungary had attracted no sympathy among the democrats, whose feelings still appeared to be of some weight with the Austrian ministry, although most of the leaders had left that party. Dr. Bach was now Minister of Home Affairs. In March he had been a radical lawyer; in April he was still dallying with republican ideas; as late as June and July he talked of "the Democratic Empire on the largest basis;" but he had now become not only the minister, but even the courtier of Absolutism. Baron Dobblhof indeed

gathered students of the university into his office, as if implying that he was a constitutionalist and something more; but from the constant wavering of his gentle character he had lost all power over the people. Schwarzer, influential as a journalist, had likewise been silenced by holding a ministerial portfolio. Even Dr. Fischof, after being appointed ministerial councillor, spoke no more in the Diet. Dr. Schütte, an agitator of eminent talent, had been expelled from Vienna. Dr. Giskra, who had likewise been one of the democratic leaders, went as member to the Frankfort parliament.

Persons of inferior talent and less defined notions conducted the newspapers and the public meetings. In both of these fields Hungary had often been attacked by the adherents of "exclusive Germanism," who, just as they had thought to incorporate Posen, so now desired to fuse down Hungary into the grand united German Empire—a project which they knew the Hungarians would resist. On the other hand, the decided democrats could not forget that the Hungarians did not want to abolish the House of Peers, and kept to the system of Two Houses. The Sclavonians were enthusiastic for Jellachich.

The democratical party mainly consisted of the students of the University of Vienna, of lawyers, of physicians, of shopkeepers, and of the poorer classes; in short, of the great bulk of the National Guards.

But in this party likewise there were different shades of political opinion. Some of these adhered to the plans of the Frankfort parliament relative to a German Empire; others cared much for democracy but little for union; many were taken up with the notion of a Sclavonic Austria; by all, Hungary was more or less attacked. In opposition to these parties another had by degrees constituted itself, which adopted the name of *Black and Yellow*.* Its elements were bankers, rich merchants, first-rate manufacturers, and civil officers of high place. Of the people only the cabmen belonged to it, and that because the democrats habitually walk with umbrellas, and use only omnibusses, seldom cabs, or hackney-coaches.

The Black and Yellow party had recovered from the first stunning effect of the revolution, and now aspired to influence. It of course disliked Hungary, perfectly aware that with a national administration that country would soon thrive, and then become independent of the Viennese money-dealers, who had large dealings, not seldom of an usurious kind, with the Hungarian nobility. There existed no third party in Vienna. The high Austrian aristocracy had retired to their estates, and kept apart from politics. Leaving everything to take its course, they waited

* These were the colours the Emperor Francis had chosen for his empire, when he adopted in 1804 the title of "Emperor of Austria."

for the ebb in the public feeling, which they thought was sure to follow the flood-tide of revolution.

The stately and dignified appearance of the two Hungarian deputations, (one to the Emperor, the other to the Austrian Diet,) which in September had left Vienna without result, had first occasioned in the public mind a turn favourable to the Hungarians. The newspapers now took up the great question more carefully, and some of them declared themselves for Hungary. On the contrary, the language of other journals daily grew more passionate in proportion to the approach of Jellachich towards Pest. They personally attacked Batthyányi and Kossuth, so as to force them to bring actions for libel before the tribunals.

However, the publication of the intercepted letters from the Croatian head-quarters, made a great impression on the whole Constitutional party. Every one now saw that it was not to redress the peculiar grievances of Croatia—her "oppression by Hungary," so often alleged, but never proved,—that Jellachich was advancing towards Pest; but that he was the instrument of the Reaction, which designed to rescind every law, that had been granted to the people since March; and that his army was embattled, not against Hungary alone, but also against the vital principle of constitutionalism, which for a moment had been victorious over the whole of Europe.

The excitement grew more and more intense towards the end of September, and the movements of the armies in Hungary were attended to with anxious interest. More than once people met in the Odeon —the most spacious hall in Vienna, where 10,000 people find room—and listened there to the brilliant speeches of Dr. Tausenau, which produced great effect.

The "Black and Yellow," and even those impartial witnesses who took no direct concern in politics, did not doubt for a moment that Jellachich must conquer. Many of these freely declared, that "the right indeed was with Hungary, but by the irresistible law of nature, the numerically weaker race must necessarily be subjugated by the stronger; that the central power of a great realm, in spite of all historical compacts, and whatever the legal claim might be, inevitably by degrees assimilated and melted up into one all the kingdoms which had received one and the same monarch."

That the independence of Hungary, though hitherto a legal and historical fact, was now to be suppressed, and the centralizing projects of the court-party to be realized, seemed at last a certainty, especially as the murder of Count Lamberg had stained the Hungarian cause.

On the 2nd of October, the tidings had been expected in Vienna, that the Croats had entered

Buda. Instead of this, the mail from Pest was missed, and from Györ the news came that the Croatian army had arrived there. Nobody could understand this march of Jellachich. No report of his defeat had reached the Austrian capital; for he stood with his army between Pest and Vienna, and thus prevented the communication. The excitement grew in proportion as the Croats advanced towards the frontier. The impression was, that Jellachich had threatened Pest, only to approach Vienna with more security.

Batthyányi, indignant at the murder of Lamberg, and despairing as to the prospects of Hungary, had left the Hungarian camp on the 28th, in the night. He arrived in Vienna on the 30th, and on the 1st of October presented his second resignation to the Emperor.

Baron Récsey, an old soldier, who had never meddled in any way with politics, was on the 3rd of October named Hungarian Prime-Minister, on condition of his countersigning an Imperial order, by which Jellachich would be appointed Civil and Military Governor of Hungary, the Diet be dissolved, and the whole of Hungary declared in a state of siege, until it should have been "reorganized on the basis of the equal rights of all nationalities." Récsey had on the day before communicated this to Count Louis Batthyányi, who

entreated the old General not to dishonour his grey hair by countersigning this decree, which in result annulled the whole Hungarian Constitution—an act with which his name would ever be linked. Baron Récsey, although moved in the first interview, replied on the following day: "But I am a soldier: my first duty is subordination. My Emperor commands; I must obey: and the Emperor has always been a gracious Sovereign to me. Moreover, he is now paying my debts; and I must prove grateful."

On the 4th the fatal ordinance was published, which naturally produced in Hungary the most pernicious effect. Jellachich—the very man, who but three months previously, on the 10th of June, had been declared high traitor by the King—Jellachich, who without provocation had attacked Hungary, and had been defeated—this man was to be the ruler over life and death in the whole kingdom, and would thus be empowered fully to revenge himself on the nation which he hated, and by which he had been exposed to disgrace.

But during this interval, tidings direct from Pest had arrived at Vienna; and anxious as the Court party was to keep the secret, it could no longer be doubted that the Croatian army did not advance as victors. The result of the Battle of Sukoró was whispered abroad, and the courage

of the Viennese was raised. Simultaneously the news came, that an incursion into the county of Nyitra, by a Sclavonic corps under Hurban—who aimed at exciting an insurrection, in order to divide the forces of the Hungarians and support the operations of Jellachich—had utterly failed. The corps had mainly consisted of students of the University of Prague; but they were dispersed at Miava and Verbo by the national guards of Pressburg, aided by a small military body which was stationed in that neighbourhood.

When the Hungarians in Vienna heard these tidings, they clearly saw that their nation would never submit to the arbitrary decree which gave unlimited power to Jellachich; and that, in consequence, war between Austria and Hungary was unavoidable. But, in fact, all the measures of the Court party in Vienna had for months been directed to force Hungary into a collision, which was necessarily dreaded by all those who had the welfare of the country at heart, and were anxious for the real interest of the Imperial house.

My husband deliberated in the Ministry with the Hungarian Councillors of State, who had grown old in the Monarch's service, and were once deputies in the Hungarian Diet. They were intensely grieved at the blow which had been aimed at the Constitution; but they thought that it was

still the duty of the civil officers to abide in their places as long as nothing was directly demanded from them in opposition to the laws. Count Batthyányi was of the same opinion, and considered it my husband's duty not to resign, but to wait until he should be dismissed. I remember it most vividly; it was on the 5th of October, when we met Count Batthyányi on the glacis. After he had expressed his opinion relative to my husband, the Count inquired what he himself should do? whether he should go as volunteer to the Hungarian army, or should proceed to Paris, and try to direct the attention of Europe to the contest in Hungary, which until then had always been misrepresented in the foreign papers. Perhaps the voice of European opinion would prove more effective than any representations of the Hungarians. My husband thought so too, and advised the Count to set out without delay, as there was no time to lose; for the documents needful to explain the contest would require months to gain general notice, whilst decisive results could not be expected to tarry. The Count fully entered into this view; but he wanted previously to take leave of his family, and therefore left Vienna on the very same evening for Soprony (Oedenburg). Had he then gone to Paris, the events, perhaps might have taken another turn; in any case,

the Austrian annalists would have one dreadful crime less to record.

When we returned home at five o'clock, an autograph letter of the King was handed to my husband. Its contents were: "that my husband's resignation as Under Secretary of State had been accepted by his Majesty." This letter was countersigned by Baron Récsey. We smiled at its contents, as my husband had not offered his resignation. In consequence of this we took leave of our friends, intending next day to make all necessary preparations for our return to Hungary. The place of every patriot now naturally was, either at the army as volunteer, or in the government at Pest.

Our friends informed us, that the German battalion, Richter, had been commanded to march next day into Hungary, in aid of Jellachich; that great public excitement was rising, now that for the first time an *unconcealed* support was given to the Croats; considering that this converted the contest, which till then had seemed to be only a Croato-Hungarian one, into a war between Austria and Hungary. What made the case worse, was, that this decisive step had been taken without the approval of the Diet, though it was sitting daily: that such military aid to Jellachich was considered almost to amount to declaring war against

Hungary, which might possibly lead to severe expenses, and therefore, many thought, should in no case be done without consent of the Diet.

Notwithstanding this state of things, when late in the evening we drove from the town to Penzing, we noticed no agitation in the streets; nothing marked the eve of a bloody insurrection.

Dr. Tausenau had that day, it is true, delivered in the Odeon a powerful speech on "Jellachich before the gates of Vienna." In this he had depicted the Croats as the murderers of freedom, and had called upon the Viennese to resist courageously, in case Jellachich should dare to advance. At the same time the orator remonstrated against the unlawful proceeding of the Austrian Ministry, which, without consulting the Diet, had conveyed support to Jellachich. Ten thousand people applauded this speech, but dispersed without any disturbance of public order. Meanwhile, however, the grenadiers in the taverns were discussing the matter over their beer, and generally reasoned:—"That it was unjust to send them away against the Hungarians; that the Hungarians were in war with Jellachich, but not with the Emperor; that they, themselves, had nothing to do with the quarrels of Croats and Hungarians."

Such sentiments were backed and encouraged by several students and national guards, who had

entered the taverns; and the soldiers' reluctance was farther confirmed by the accident, that the particular battalion which had been ordered to march, was very popular among the Viennese. It consisted of men from Upper-Austria, whom the inhabitants of the capital were glad to see, rather than the Galician battalion Nassau, the men of which had frequent disputes with the citizens. These therefore said: "if a battalion must march, why not the Galicians, why our brethren the Upper-Austrians?"

In our neighbourhood at Penzing lived an attaché of the French Embassy (afterwards French Consul in Hayti), whom we frequently saw. The 6th of October, in the morning, he came, as was almost his daily custom, to walk to town with my husband. We had not as yet the slightest knowledge that a contest had begun in the Prater. The battalion, commanded to march into Hungary, complied unwillingly, and arrived near the rail-road on which it was to proceed, with cries: "The Hungarians are our brothers, not our foes! What have we to do with the Croats?" In company with them walked national guards, partly without arms, partly armed. On the embankment of the railway, close to the Danube, still larger crowds were assembled of national guards, students, and workmen. Some of these broke down an arch of the

Tábor-bridge, and hereby hindered the departure of the soldiers.

One of the students made a speech, in which he appealed to General Bredi, the commander of the troops; that, seeing the unanimous aversion of the citizens and soldiers against the march into Hungary, the General shonld intimate this fact to the Minister of War, and entreat him to retract the order. The General promised so to do; and the crowd believed that the Ministry would yield. But it was only the same wavering which so often had been visible in the Viennese Executive. General Bredi soon returned: the order to march had been renewed, and several companies of fresh troops arrived in haste to enforce obedience on the others, if necessary.

The people crowded in masses before the soldiers, and thus prevented their movements. The crowd was summoned to disperse, but did not comply; the troops fired, and several national guards were killed.

The discharge had not the effect expected by the Government; for the people returned the shots. General Bredi fell dead from his horse, and the soldiers were obliged to retreat with the loss of a cannon. By this time the alarm had spread over the town. A body of national guards who happened

to be there assembled, were inhabitants of the suburbs and Radicals in politics. On hearing the reports of cannons and muskets on the bank of the Danube, they marched to the place of St. Stephen, (*Stephansplatz*), and were proceeding up to the tower to ring the alarm-bell. The "black and yellow" guards, citizens of the inner town, tried to prevent this, and an engagement ensued. From a window, a shot fell on the guards of the suburbs; the contest grew bloody; the alarm-bell rang at one o'clock.

My husband at nine o'clock had gone to his office in town, to get his effects there ready for our departure; but as soon as he perceived the tumult, and understood its cause, he hastened to Baron Sina, a well-known banker, in close relations with the Government; who, as a proprietor of very large estates in Hungary, could not be indifferent to the policy pursued towards that country. My husband represented to him, that even now it might not prove too late for the Ministry to change its dangerous course;—that its support of Jellachich and the "Reaction," was obviously everywhere exciting civil war and insurrection; that he himself was just on the eve of setting out for Pest, and would gladly seize every possible means of bringing about an understanding, to end the unhappy dissen-

sion between the Court and the Hungarian nation. He implored the Baron to speak to the Ministers, and make efforts for some arrangement.

But it was too late. When the Baron was persuaded to go to the Ministers, the engagement had already begun in the streets of the town itself. Barricades had risen; the gates were occupied by the guards of the suburbs. Troops from the suburbs were not allowed to enter the town, but single individuals could get out of it. My husband arrived at Penzing at three o'clock, he had hastened home, well aware that I should be in great anxiety at this terrifying uproar. Of course I had heard the cannons thundering and the alarm-bell sounding. Every omnibus coming from town brought fresh news; the general agitation increased.

In anxious expectation, my husband, I, and the old lady in whose house we lived, her niece, her grand-daughter, and all our servants—went down into the garden and up to the balcony, to listen to the booming of the cannons, and the too significant echos of the restless alarm-bell. Sometimes it ceased; a breath-suspending silence prevailed; then again the awful peals were all let loose, like so many evil spirits of destructive passions.

At five o'clock our French neighbour came and elated, that the people had been victorious at all

points; that the troops stationed in town had met the national guards with grape-shot on the Hof,* the Graben and the Bogner Street, but that the guards and the students, defying death, had taken the cannons by storm.

In the evening, we sat with our old lady, who occupied one wing of her house where we lived, around the tea-table. Tidings spread from town with the swiftness of general excitement. Every passer-by gave accounts of what he had seen, and with what difficulty he had escaped. We repeatedly went to the balcony to catch the reports thus communicated. We heard, that the Ministry, when aware that the soldiers were in retreat, had issued orders to leave off firing, but that this command had come too late, as the streets already wore the face of a battle-field; that the Diet had assembled; finally, that Count Latour, in spite of the exertions of some members of the Diet to save him, had been hanged by the people, who considered him to have occasioned the terrible bloodshed. Later rumours said, that several of the "black and yellow," had expressed themselves with passionate hatred against the Hungarians, whom they represented as the exciters of the rebellion; and that they talked of murdering my husband,

* Hof, the place of that name, where stands the office of the Ministry of War.

as the Hungarian representative. At this he laughed, considering it an exaggeration. I, however, was seized with inexpressible terror, and entreated him not to put off our departure to the next morning, but to proceed instantly to our destination. He yielded to me; so at 10 o'clock the very same evening, we drove in a hackney-coach towards the Hungarian frontier. I could not get rid of the toll of the alarm-bell. I fancied I heard its sound through the silent night, long after we had got beyond its reach.

Subsequently we learnt, that on the evening of that day, the Viennese Diet had sent a deputation to Schönbrunn, requesting the Emperor "to grant full amnesty to the people, to appoint a more popular ministry, to recal the decree by which Jellachich had been named Dictator of Hungary; and lastly, to return to the Imperial palace in Vienna, which, since the insurrection in May, had been abandoned by the Court." The Emperor received the deputation graciously, and promised next morning to fulfil all those requests; but during the night he fled to Olmütz, accompanied by a small number of troops.

We too travelled all night, but in a different direction, and reached Hungary at dawn. Some of the villages, belonging to the estates of Prince Esterházy, by which our way led, appeared to be deserted.

We were told, that all the male inhabitants had marched with the general levy, headed by the young Prince, Nicolas Eszterházy, to occupy the pass between the Fertö (Neusiedler-lake) and the mountains of the Laytha, and so oppose Jellachich on his road to Soprony (Oedenburg), but that when on the 5th the news had come that Jellachich was proclaimed Dictator, the young Prince had secretly left the people.

On the 7th of October, at ten o'clock in the morning, we reached Kis-Marton (Eisenstadt), and were at Soprony, in the afternoon, by four. Everywhere great excitement and enthusiasm prevailed. In Soprony, the tidings of the 6th had already arrived by rail. Every one rejoiced in the belief that, with the fall of the Ministry, the power of the "Camarilla" would likewise be broken, and that a sincere government would succeed. The dreadful fate of Latour was not lamented. He had been known as the enemy of Hungary, and as the supporter of the expedition of Jellachich; which in spite of its pitiful issue, had been a great disaster to the country. Where the Croats marched, the path was marked by plunder, robbery, and frequently by burnings. This exasperated the Hungarian peasants so much, that they killed in cold blood the Croatian stragglers and marauders.

In Soprony we found the family of Count Louis Batthyányi with himself. He was just setting out as volunteer to the nearest Hungarian division; and my husband accompanied him. The first division with which they fell in with, was that of the deputy Vidos, which they found to be just disbanding. It had consisted of national guards and volunteers, who had undertaken service for eight weeks. In the preceding days they had at Kanizsa courageously attacked and beaten the Croats, but now, as the eight weeks were elapsed, no eloquence could persuade them to remain longer with the army; they gave up their arms and returned home. There was nothing to be done, but instantly to assemble the national guards of other districts, who had not yet gone against the Croats. They came with great readiness, were divided into companies, elected their subaltern officers, and prepared to march against the enemy. All this was achieved in the utmost haste; as tidings had arrived, that Jellachich, to facilitate his movements, had sent back his 18,000 worst men—the sick and badly armed—who were accompanied by two battalions of choice troops, and two batteries of artillery, under the command of his General Theodorovich. Intending to return to Croatia, or, if this should prove impossible, to retire into Styria, they were coming through the very districts in which Vidos

was summoning his second levy. To bring this news, my husband hastened to Pest. The Committee of Defence entertained but a faint hope, that, after the flight of the Emperor to Olmütz, matters could be settled peaceably: it could not be blind to the probability that the Court intended to cut every question with the sword. Nevertheless the Committee and the Diet were averse to identify themselves heedlessly with the Viennese insurrection. It was resolved to proceed with as much caution as possible.

The instructions to the army were framed in the same spirit; especially since the officers, though willing to drive the enemy out of the country, were not equally ready to pursue Jellachich over the frontier; obvious though it was, that when reinforced in Austria, he would break into Hungary again. General Móga was therefore directed to claim of the Austrian Commander-General Auersperg, in proof of neutrality, to disarm Jellachich and his troops, since they had touched Austrian ground; in case this should not be complied with, General Móga was then authorized to pursue the Croats over the frontier. Yet, that every appearance should be avoided of aggression upon Austria, the General should not overstep the frontier without a summons from the legal government of Austria. However, as no Austrian ministry was to be found,

some of the ministers having fled, while others accompanied the Emperor to Olmütz, and only one of them, Baron Kraus, the Minister of Finance, had remained in Vienna—no other authority now in Austria could be legally recognized, than the Diet itself, or the Executive which perhaps might be appointed by it. At the same time my husband was sent to Vienna, to explain to the Austrian Diet the state of things in Hungary, and to report to the Hungarian Committee of Defence and to the Diet whatever might happen.

In Vienna the combat on the 6th had been protracted far into the night. The soldiers had still defended the arsenal, which was taken by the people quite late. In spite of this, many still believed that, on the morrow, a decree would appear, appointing Borrosch and his friends to the ministry, and revoking the former decree concerning Jellachich; and that by these means all would be settled. But, on the contrary, on the 7th it came abroad that the Court had fled in the night, and that, without a doubt, this insurrection of the capital would not, like the preceding ones, remain unavenged. Accordingly, most of the wealthy inhabitants of the town left it with their most precious effects. The multitude, still more alarmed by this, opposed their departure; but the officers of the National Guard allowed every one to pass.

The workmen got arms from the arsenal. But when the proposal was made to attack and destroy the 10,000 men, who, under General Auersperg, had left the town, and encamped before its gates in the park of Prince Schwarzenberg, it was opposed by the leaders of the people themselves. The Common Council even sent after the soldiers all the military effects which had been left behind in the barracks; likewise bread and meat was brought to the camp, and General Matauschek remained in Vienna to keep up relations with the Diet, as well as with the troops. All this went on, notwithstanding the utter disappearance of several guards and students, who were known to have gone to the camp, probably in the hope of gaining over the soldiers. Days afterwards, when the troops had been concentrated on another point, mutilated bodies were found in the park.

Kraus, Minister of Finance, who is still even now in the Cabinet, had remained in Vienna; and might daily be seen in the sittings of the Diet, and of its permanent Committee. The telegraph was allowed to continue active between Olmütz and Vienna; the wire had not been cut off, nor did the Diet seek for any control and knowledge of that which was telegraphed. The railway had not been disturbed; its service was not deranged for a moment.

Baron Récsey, in the meantime, found himself in

the most distressing embarrassment, not knowing what to do after the flight of the Emperor. At last he resolved to send to the flying monarch his resignation as Hungarian Prime Minister, with the declaration, that the appointment of Jellachich to be Dictator seemed to him to be unlawful, and he entreated his Majesty to recal it.

In the meanwhile, Jellachich had crossed the Austrian frontier, and straightway joined Auersperg, aiding him to blockade the southern side of Vienna. Engagements of outposts took place, and the first cannon shots were fired against the town. There the aspect of things was gloomy. The Diet, desiring to bring about an agreement, sent a deputation to the Emperor, at Olmütz, headed by Löhner. But every day its benches were visibly thinned. After the insurrection of the 6th of October the Bohemians absented themselves; some days later, Count Stadion and a part of the right were no more seen on their seats. But the Ex-minister, Pillersdorf, and the Minister Kraus, were still there, and their presence retained the deputies of the centre and several of those belonging to the right. Besides, the Commissaries of the Frankfort Parliament, Messrs. Welker and Mosle, were expected, and much reliance was placed on their influence.

Löhner, however, in Olmütz, got only evasive replies, and Welker and Mosle failed in courage to

fulfil their mission; instead of proceeding to Vienna, they turned to Olmütz.

In such a state of things it was not surprising, that the Diet opposed every energetic measure which might occasion a still greater breach with the court, as a reconciliation was still deemed possible. The Common Council, to which the defence of Vienna had been entrusted by the Diet, was a timorous and servile corporation, unable of itself to initiate any act. It merely executed what the Committee of the Diet desired or advised. The National Guard was likewise undecided: it had no reliance in its commanders, and changed them for the third time in five days. Messenhauser, who at last was appointed to this place, believed it sufficient to address several proclamations daily to the inhabitants of Vienna. About the means of resistance he knew but little. The barricades, formed without a plan, certainly could not be depended upon. Amongst the guards and the workmen great enthusiasm reigned; but no kind of discipline. Regardless of the proclamations of Messenhauser, they wasted much powder in useless shooting on the glacis, and in aimless skirmishes at the gates; while everybody knew that the ammunition of Vienna was insufficient.

In this state my husband found the capital, when he arrived there the 13th of October. He first went to the Permanent Committee of the Diet in the Im-

perial palace. On a table covered with papers lay a cannon-ball: several German and Galician deputies sat around, who welcomed my husband with the question: "Will the Hungarians come?" "As soon as desired by the Austrian Diet;" was his answer. My husband then explained, that the Hungarian army was averse to cross the frontier, without a definite summons from the Austrian Diet.

Minister Kraus entered the room, and took an animated part in the discussion which was going on. The Austrian representatives said: "We cannot summon the Hungarian army; for we cannot abandon the legal path. We are representatives of the whole empire, not of Vienna only. The defence of Vienna belongs exclusively to the Common Council, not to the Diet." My husband replied: "In this case the Hungarians will not come; for they likewise will not abandon the legal path. Jellachich has attacked them; they have driven him from their country; they have no business with General Auersperg, unless the Austrian Diet declares him an enemy."—"General Auersperg has declared *himself* an enemy;" retorted the representatives. "Here is the first cannon-ball fired against the town. Auersperg began the attack. Cannon-balls surely are no tokens of friendship. But the Diet cannot frame a resolution, declaring the General to be an enemy."

The representatives then requested my husband to speak to the Common Council, as this was the legal authority, to which the Diet had entrusted the defence of Vienna. Before my husband went, Baron Kraus questioned him upon the affairs of Hungary, and repeatedly expressed his trust, that all could be brought to a peaceful conclusion.

The members of the Common Council proved more timorous still than the Committee of the Diet. Their reply was: "That they no longer had anything to do with the defence of Vienna, for which the Commander of the National Guards had been appointed; and any interference from the Council could only create confusion."

My husband proceeded in the evening to the Stallburg (a wing of the imperial palace), where the staff of the National Guards was assembled. Messenhauser, whom he had not known previously, greeted him in a friendly manner, but requested him not to speak loud, as many of the superior officers of the guard could not be relied on. "Black and yellow," they betrayed everything to Jellachich and Auersperg: for in spite of the daily skirmishes, the town and the enemy's camp were yet in manifold intercourse. My husband, therefore, in a low tone requested Messenhauser to send to the Hungarians 20,000 muskets from the arsenal; as the Hungarians were not deficient in

soldiers, but in muskets, and the road by Posony was still free. Messenhauser replied: "that this he could not do; as the conveyance of arms would occasion the suspicion, that he was forwarding them to the Austrian army; for which reason he could not even permit, that those muskets should be sent to Hungary, which the Hungarian Ministry had bought in Belgium:—(these, at the end of September, when the Austrian Ministry first prohibited the export of arms to Hungary, had been seized in the Custom House:)—that he personally would not oppose the sending of arms, but the Common Council would not allow it."

Such were the revolutionists of Vienna. Like the Hungarians, they gladly would have accepted any proposal of agreement, but they would not surrender unconditionally in the very same instant, in which they had cut with the sword the Gordian knot of the court intrigues.

At that period General Bem came to Vienna, meaning to proceed to Hungary, and offer his services to the government there. On his way he was requested to take upon himself the defence of the Austrian capital. He complied. Of course he was most anxious to establish an intelligence with the Commander of the Hungarian army, which was able to relieve Vienna. But in the city the leading men were averse to meddle with the Hungarian

quarrel, whilst the Hungarians, who stood at the frontier, were slow to support the democratic insurrection of Vienna.

My husband could hardly doubt any longer the inevitable fate of the capital. He therefore wrote to the Permanent Committee of the Diet: "That he could not promise anything relative to the Hungarians; and that he thought the Diet would take the best measure by appealing to Archduke John, the Regent in Francfort, to mediate as speedily as possible: that under the present circumstances, this might be the only way to save Vienna." Several of the representatives were of the same opinion, but they were all reluctant to take any decided measure, and gave themselves up to the course of events.

The 17th of October, Blum, the eloquent leader of the left in the Frankfort parliament, arrived, with his colleagues, Messrs. Froebel, Hartmann and Trampusch. Everybody expected from their arrival a turn in the Viennese transactions, greater energy, more unity, less wavering politics. But these expectations were not fulfilled: these gentlemen too were men of word but not of deed. They had the passive courage of opposition orators, and if necessary, of martyrs; not the active courage of the statesman, or the hero. My husband had but one conversation with Blum, and saw

that he was not the man to direct a revolution; he therefore said to him and Messenhauser: "You are designed for martyrs; this is a grand vocation, but not that which I expressly seek: with half measures neither a peace nor a revolution can be achieved. Farewell; I go to the Hungarian army!"

In the meantime the Austrian troops took post, also on the *left* bank of the Danube. Day after day fresh battalions were conveyed on the railroad from Galicia, Moravia, and Bohemia, and encamped in the villages round Vienna. The town could no longer be quitted without danger. My husband's friends entreated him to remain, as it would be dangerous for him, a Hungarian, to pass the Austrian and Croatian outposts. But happily not attending to these warnings, he passed out unperceived, and returned to Posony.

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